1: Rivers
177

Toda

[See categories 437 and 609 for additional information about Toda relationships with neighboring groups]

000 associated with belief. The ceremonial in Torres Straits had been swept away, while the stories of the legendary heroes were almost all that remained to the people of the old life and were in consequence still cherished.

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797 Among the Todas missionary influence, whether of Christian or Hindu, has had little effect, and the ritual of the Todas in some parts of the hills is almost, if not quite, untouched by outside influences.[1] The effect of intercourse with other peoples seems to be showing itself largely in the form of loss of interest in the stories of the past.

171 One of the most striking aspects of the customs and ceremonies of the Todas is that these have in many cases no exact parallels in other places. Perhaps the most definite result which modern research in anthropology has brought out is the extraordinary similarity of custom throughout the world. Customs apparently identical are found in races so widely separated geographically and so diverse ethnologically that it seems certain the customs must have developed in total independence of one another. There seems to be an identity of idea actuating custom in peoples very different from one another in their surroundings and conditions of life.

The nearest parallels to Toda custom and ceremonial are undoubtedly to be found in the Indian peninsula, but even here, though there is often a general resemblance, this breaks down on going into detail. Even when the resemblance is so close as to suggest a common origin, the differences in detail are often very great.[2]

177 One clue to this exceptional nature of Toda custom and belief is to be found in the geographical position of the people, which has to a large extent isolated them from the world in general.

133 The plateau on which they live, broken by numerous hills and valleys, is the top of a scarp formed by the meeting of the Eastern and Western Ghats. Some of the hills project

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[1] As we shall see later, this is only true of some parts of the hills and some institutions.

[2] With more exact knowledge of Indian customs and ceremonies which have lingered on side by side with, though often obscured by Brahmanism, it is possible that these differences would be found to be much slighter than the evidence at present available suggests.

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more than the rest above the general level of the plateau, which ranges from 6,000 to 7,500 feet above the sea, and the loftiest of these hills reaches the height of 8,760 feet. The plateau is so high that, though it is situated only about eleven degrees from the equator, the thermometer rarely rises above 70° F., and in the nights of the cold season may touch the freezing point.

In every direction the sides of the hills leading up to the plateau are steep and often precipitous. To the south-east, east, and north-east there is a rapid fall of about 5,000 feet to the plains of the Coimbatore district, though to the south this plain only forms a gap about twenty miles in breadth between the Nilgiri and the Anaimalai Hills. On the north-west the slope is more gradual and is broken by the Wainad district about 3,000 feet above the sea. To the north there is a steep fall, but only for about 4,000 feet, to the plateau of Mysore, which is about 3,000 feet above the sea.

The south-western part of the hills is known as the Kundahs and may be regarded as a range separate from the greater part of the plateau, from which it is divided by a wide valley, the Avalanche Valley. From the Kundahs there is an extremely precipitous fall to the Malabar district.

The steep sides leading up to the plateau on which the Todas live are clothed with thick, almost impenetrable jungle, which is extremely malarious, so that a night spent on the way to the summit is very likely to produce fever.

The hills appear to have been for long an object of reverence to Hindus on account of their height and inaccessibility. Dubois states that "as it is very difficult to reach the top of this mountain, a view of the summit alone (and it is visible a long way off) is considered sufficient to remove the burden of sin from the conscience of any person who looks at it."[1]

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When the hills were first visited by Europeans, their use as a sanatorium was long delayed owing to the difficulty of making roads, and it was not till after many years that the hills became a regular resort of the European population. We shall see later that the isolation of the Todas has certainly

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[1] *Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies*, part ii., chap. v.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

177 not been complete, and that the hills have been invaded by strangers, especially from the side of the Wainad; but the isolation has probably been considerable, and, for long periods, it may have been complete.

101 177 In their isolation from the world in general, however, the Todas have not been alone. Two other tribes, the Kotas and the Badagas, occupy the plateau with them, and the peculiar relations between the three tribes are among the most interesting features of the social life of the Nilgiris. The Todas are a purely pastoral people, limiting their activities almost entirely to the care of their buffaloes and to the complicated ritual which has grown up in association with these animals. The Badagas are chiefly agriculturists; the Kotas are artisans and mechanics; and both supply the Todas with part of their produce. There is here a well-marked instance of division of labour, in which the labour of the Todas is reduced to a minimum. Their privileged position is usually held to be due to the tradition that they are the "lords of the soil," and the produce which the Todas receive from the other tribes is supposed to be of the nature of tribute.

The jungle on the slopes of the hills is inhabited by two wild, dwarfish tribes, the Kurumbas and Irulas, who have a general resemblance to the many other jungle tribes of Southern India. These people are much feared by the tribes of the plateau for their supposed magical powers, but they have little to do with the complex social life of the others.

101 131 177 The district in which the three tribes live is not extensive. The extreme length of the plateau, from east to west, is about forty-two miles, and its average breadth, from north to south, about ten miles, the maximum breadth being fifteen miles in the centre of the district. The total area of the plateau is less than 500 square miles. In this district there live about 800 Todas, 1,200 Kotas, and 34,000 Badagas. In addition, there are now extensive European settlements, the largest of which is Ootacamund, the seat of the Madras Government for six months of the year. The other large European settlements are Coonoor and Kotagiri, while Wellington, near Coonoor, is a military station.

The plateau of the Nilgiris is divided into four districts, 114 127

attempted any criticism or comment on the work of others except on special occasions when my own information is lacking or when I am uncertain as to the truth of their statements. Except in those cases in which I definitely refer to the work of others, every statement made in this book is the outcome of my own inquiry or observation. Whenever my account differs from those of others, it may be accepted that I have inquired into the discrepancy and that my account represents the result of a careful investigation.

As some of the accounts of the Todas were written many years ago, there is always the possibility that two dissimilar accounts may both be true and that the differences may represent changes in custom with lapse of time. There is one fact, however, which makes it probable that this explanation of discrepancies is not the true one. The accounts of the Todas which show the closest correspondence with my own are some of the earliest, especially the book of Captain Harkness, published in 1832, and the papers of Bernhard Schmid and C. F. Muzzy, published in 1837 and 1844 respectively. In many cases my work agrees more closely with these than with the accounts of later observers.

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This is, perhaps, a suitable place to mention what I believe to be the chief source of error in previous accounts of the Todas. In their extensive intercourse with the Badagas, the Todas use the language of this people, with which they appear to be perfectly familiar. The Toda language is very difficult to understand, and the literature shows that from the first, most of those who have investigated Toda customs have used the Badaga language or Tamil as their means of communication. Every Toda village, every Toda institution or office, and nearly every object used by the Todas has its Badaga name as well as its proper Toda name, and, owing to intercourse through the intermediation of the Badagas, these names have come to be used not only by nearly all who have written on the Todas, but also in official documents connected with the people.

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The names by which the Toda villages are known to Europeans are always the Badaga names and not those of

103 114 191 the Todas, and similarly with the names of institutions such as clans, dairies, or ceremonies. The practice of giving Badaga names in their intercourse with Europeans has become so engrained that a Toda invariably uses these names when speaking to a European. During the first few weeks of my work, I received exclusively Badaga names, and to the end of my visit, whenever I visited a new district, the Badaga names would crop up till the people found that I wanted Toda and not Badaga. Kiunievan, who was the chief informant of Mr. Breeks in 1872, is still alive, and when I asked him why he gave Mr. Breeks the Badaga names in every case, he answered "He did not seem to want anything else," and this answer seems to me to give the clue to much of the error which has found its way into many of the accounts which have been given of the Todas.

114 177 One of the most serious errors which has arisen in this way is one connected with the Toda clans. Every account which has been given of the clan-system of the Todas is that of a system which is current among the Badagas as the Toda system, but has only a limited correspondence with the actual system as it is in use among the Todas themselves. Every Toda, if asked by a European to what clan or division he belongs, will promptly give his division according to the Badaga classification, and this has led to the incorporation of this classification in all the accounts of the Todas which deal with their social organisation.

128 Some words are necessary about the general plan of the book. I should have preferred to begin with the social organisation, and to approach the religious aspect of the life of the Todas through the ceremonies accompanying the chief incidents of life, including birth, marriage, and death. The ideas borrowed from the ritual of the dairy, however, so pervade the whole of Toda ceremonial, that I have been obliged to consider the ritual of the dairy at an early stage. After a preliminary chapter sketching the general character and life of the people, I have therefore given a full description of the elaborate ceremonial which centres round the dairy; and on this follow the accounts of other ceremonies and sacred institutions and a general discussion of the

342 the hut is always very small, and is closed by a door which slides over the opening on its inner side.

Some houses are much longer than others, with a door at each end and a central partition, so as to form a double hut which is called *epotirikhthars*, *i.e.*, "both-ways-turned house." This kind of hut did not seem to be common, and I only saw three or four examples, of which one is shown in Fig. 8.

A much more common kind of double hut is called *merkalars*, *i.e.*, "other-side house," in which the back part of the hut is partitioned off, with a door at one side.

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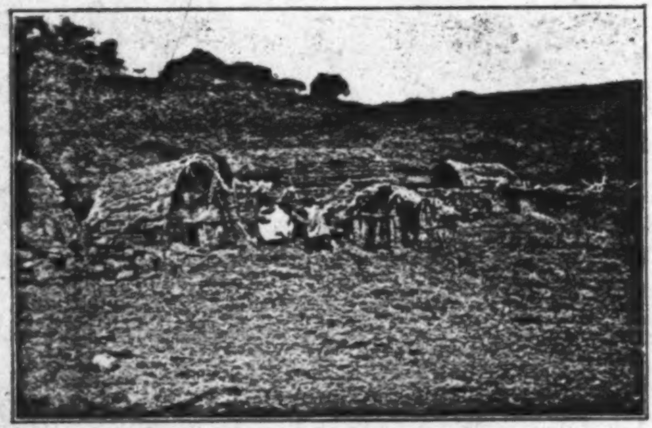

FIG. 8.—THE VILLAGE OF PEIVÒRS, SHOWING A DOUBLE HUT (IN THE BACKGROUND). THE TWO BUILDINGS ON THE LEFT ARE DAIRIES, AND THE STRUCTURE IN THE CENTRE IS A CALF-HOUSE.

166 177 342 In some Toda villages there may now be found huts of the same kind as those of the Badagas. In the cases in which I found such huts, I was told that they had been built by Badagas who had lived in the villages while the Toda occupants were away. Todas may also occasionally be found living away from their own villages, usually near tea plantations. They do this because there is a demand for buffalo manure at the plantations, and when living in this way they not uncommonly use huts of the Badaga pattern.

342 352 In front of the hut on either side of the door there are usually raised seats called *kwottün*, and there are similar

234 of this kind. The earthenware vessels used in the ordinary
415 dairy-work are made by the Kotas.

The names of the different dairy vessels vary according to
177 the dairy in which they are used, and these, together with
a complete list of the dairy vessels and implements, will be
reserved till later.

234 The method of churning is shown in Fig. 15. The churning
is always done within the hut or dairy, but in order to obtain
412 a photograph of the process a staff was put in the ground
415 outside a hut, so that the figure shows exactly the method
used within the hut or dairy. The upright staff is called
*palmän*, or 'milk-tree'; the two rings by means of which the
churning-stick is fastened to the *palmän* are called *palkaṭi*, or
'milk-ties.' The cord by which the churning-stick, or *madth*
is revolved is called *kudinan* or *palv*.

234 The general plan of the dairy operations appears to be
much the same as that practised elsewhere in India. There
171 are, however, two special features of the Toda procedure
which, so far as I know, are not in general use elsewhere.
One of these is the addition of buttermilk from a previous
churning. This addition probably hastens the process of
coagulation, and has a material use, but in the hands of the
Todas it has become of great ceremonial importance, and
forms the basis of some of the most interesting features of
the dairy ritual.

The other special feature which does not seem to be generally found in India is the addition of grain or rice when clarifying the butter. Unlike the addition of buttermilk, this has no ceremonial value, and is chiefly important in providing the Todas with one of their favourite foods.

### THE CARE OF THE ORDINARY BUFFALOES

234 The ordinary buffaloes, or *putiir*, of a village are looked after
and milked by the males of the village; by those who in Toda
463 terminology are *perol*, or ordinary men, as compared with
those who have been ordained to one of the sacred dairy
offices.

234 When the people rise in the morning, the buffaloes are

234 *Kwoinörtpet.* A wand carried by the *palol* with the *kwoi*
412 and used to keep away the calves when milking.

415 *Tedshk.* Rattan rings used when carrying the dairy vessels.

*Idrkwoi.* A bamboo vessel containing about one *kudi.* It is used to transfer butter and buttermilk from the vessels of the inner room to the vessels of the outer room, and is kept midway between the two rooms. There is nothing corresponding to it in the village dairy, except at the *kugvali*, where the *kuvun* is used in the same way.

*Alug.* Earthenware vessels used as receptacles for buttermilk and butter in the outer room. There are at least two of these vessels, usually more. This vessel corresponds to the *pariv* of the village dairy.

*Uppun.* A bamboo vessel which is used to hold the buttermilk which the *palol* drinks.

*Mòrkudriki.* A vessel used like a ladle to transfer buttermilk from the *alug* to the *uppun* or the *mòrpun.* It corresponds to the *majertkudriki* or *ashkiok* of the ordinary dairy.

*Karpun.* A bamboo vessel used to milk the *punir*, or ordinary buffaloes of the *ti* herds.

*Turavali.* The cooking-pot of which the ordinary name is *tòratthadi.*

*Guduboi.* An earthenware pot to hold *nei* or ghi. Its ordinary name is *pathrs.*

The *mòrpun*, kept in the sleeping-hut, is a bamboo vessel used by the *kaltmokh* to hold buttermilk both for himself and for certain privileged visitors called *mòrol.*

177 The earthenware vessels of the inner room are not obtained
415 from the Kotas, like the ordinary vessels, but are made by
437 Hindus, and are procured through the Badagas.

234 The *palol* has two garments, one of which, the *kubuntuni*,
he wears when not engaged in dairy-work, while the other,
292 the *pòdrshtuni*, is worn during the dairy-work or other ceremonial. The latter is kept in the outer room when not in use.

234 There are usually two kinds of bell at the *ti*, one kind con-
778 nected with the more sacred buffaloes and another belonging
to the *punir*. The bells of the first kind, called *mani*, are

kept in the inner room, and are tied on the necks of certain 234
buffaloes for a short time on special occasions. The other 778
bells, called *kudrs mani*, are kept outside the door of the dairy and are put on the necks of the *punir* on the same occasions.

There were several points of interest about the lamps used 234
to light the dairies. At one time it seems that every *palol* 354
was provided with an iron lamp with a number of cavities, each cavity being fitted with a wick. These lamps are reputed to have been as old as the foundation of the *ti* dairies. One of the lamps which is still in existence at the Nòdrs *ti* (that of the *warspoh*) is said to have been brought from Amnòdr. There is some doubt about the exact number of cavities and wicks in these lamps, but in the existing lamp of the Nòdrs *ti* there seems to be little doubt that there are seven cavities and wicks, and the lamp is called *önavpelk*, "the lamp of the seven holes." All the seven wicks are only lighted on special occasions (*ponnol*), and on most days only one is
used. At some dairies these iron lamps have been long lost, [314]
and in these cases the *palol* used to make lamps of the bark of the *tudr* tree. According to Marshall (p. 141), these lamps have five wicks, and this appears to be still the case at the Kars *ti*, where there were formerly two iron lamps, one with five cavities and one with four, and in the lamp now used at this *ti* they still keep up the use of five wicks on special occasions, using only two on ordinary days. It is possible that Marshall derived his information from a man who had been *palol* at this *ti*. At one of the dairies of the Pan *ti* there is an old iron lamp with seven cavities, and at the other, where
a bark lamp is used, it has three wicks. At the present time [177]
the dairymen rarely trouble to make bark lamps, but are content with earthenware lamps procured from the bazaar. If these are broken and cannot be replaced at once, bark lamps are used during the interval. The wicks of the lamps, for whichever lamp they may be used, are always made of *tuni* taken from the garments worn by the *palol*, and the substance used in the lamps is butter.

Of the two fireplaces in the outer room, the *tòratthwaskal* is used for ordinary purposes, for cooking food, &c. The

the buffaloes called *arsaiir* came from the sea and were the 173
mothers of all the *tiir*. Another account, which seemed to be 234
more generally accepted, was that the Kwòdrdoni *ti* was
instituted by Ön, like those of Nòdrs and Kars, but that 773
one day, when the *palol* was milking, the *mani*, called
Pushodipongg, came from the sea and sat on the side of the
milking-vessel.

The chief place of this *ti* is Pursâs, situated between 234
Kwòdrdoni and Kotagiri. The other dairies in the past were 621
at Kakwai, Karküln, Pobkars, and Kadrin, but only the first
of these, which is close to Kwòdrdoni, is now used.

At the time of my visit there was no *palol*, and the buffaloes, 177
only about eight in number, were standing at Kakwai, but were
not being milked. 234

A *palol* is appointed every year shortly before the ceremony 793
in honour of the god Kamataraya, which is celebrated by the
Kotas in January. When the Kotas announce that they are
about to hold this ceremony, a *palol* and *kaltmokh* are
appointed who go to Pursâs. The buffaloes are milked and
the ghi which is obtained from the milk is given to the Kotas.
The *palol* remains in office for about twenty days, and his
appointment is made altogether on behalf of the Kotas, who
would be very angry if it were not done. It seemed that the
success of the Kota ceremony would be seriously impaired if
there were no *palol* at the Kwòdrdoni *ti*.

A *palol* would also be appointed if it were wished to hold [765]
the second funeral ceremonies, or *marvainolkedr*, of a
Kwòdrdoni person.

The Kwòdrdoni *ti* has never had more than one kind of 234
buffalo, and never more than one *palol* or *kaltmokh*. The 773
buffaloes, or *arsaiir*, are those which disobeyed the commands
of Ön (see Chap. IX), and are said to be responsible for the
dangers suffered by buffaloes from tigers.

The people of Nòdrs and Kars have the privilege of taking 184
buttermilk and food at the *ti*, and are known as *mòrol*, but 234
they may not sleep at the *ti mad*, nor do they take any part
in the buffalo migration. According to one account, the 554
people of Pan are also *mòrol*, and may even sleep at the *ti*.

[123] which I have already referred—misfortunes which were
234x believed to be the direct consequence of my investigations—
221 and it seemed quite clear that the various postponements and final abandonment of the journey to Anto were due
233 to the fear that some misfortune might befall the sacred
796 herd if I saw the procession.

It will be noticed that the herd of the Nòdrs *ti* may pass the greater part of the year at Mòdr, which is not one of the three most ancient dairies of the *ti*. It has become the most frequented because it is the most convenient, occupying a more central situation than most of the other dairies. Majòdr is also not one of the most ancient dairies, but is visited purely on account of grazing necessities. Anto and Òdrtho, the two out of the three places given originally by Teikirzi according to the legend, are visited not from necessity, but on account of their sanctity, and, as we have seen, it may happen under exceptional circumstances that neither place may be visited and the whole year passed at Mòdr and Majòdr.

It is only when going to Anto and Òdrtho that some of the most remarkable features of the buffalo migration ceremonies are carried out, and if these dairies should fall into disuse, as would seem not improbable, these features of the migration ceremonies would certai[illegible]anish.

234x As we have seen, [illegible]igration to the relatively un-
[illegible] important dairy of Majòdr may take place on a Wednesday,
796 but when going to the more important places a Sunday must be chosen. The orthodox day is the first Sunday after the
● 177 new moon, but so far as I could gather from the various days appointed for the migration during my visit there is no very strict adherence to the rule. A week before the migration a second *kaltmokh* is appointed who goes through the customary ordination ceremony. It is also arranged that a Melgars man (*mòrol*) shall come to carry some of the contents of the dairy. When the buffaloes are going either to Anto or Òdrtho it is absolutely necessary that a *mòrol* shall be present, who goes in front of both *palol* and *kaltmokh* and has certain well defined duties. The procession may also be accompanied by any Toda who has no *ichchil* and these people may help in driving the buffaloes and in carrying the

less important things from the dairy. Badagas may also [177]
accompany the procession.

The day of the migration is called *irnödrthnol*, and on the 234x
morning of this day the churning is done as usual, and
sufficient milk is drawn to provide as much as can be safely 221
carried in one of the *persin* without spilling it. All who take 796
part in the procession must go without food on the morning
of this day, and the *palol* does not take buttermilk as usual.
The various objects which are to be taken with the buffaloes
are brought out of the dairy and laid by a stone called the
*pepkusthkars*, which in some places, and possibly everywhere,
is in or near the wall of the *tu*.

The dairy vessels are carried according to well-defined 234x
rules. The things of the inner room and the intermediate 284
objects, the lamp and the *idrkwoi*, are carried by the *palol*.
The *mòrol* carries some of the things of the outer room and 415
one of the horns. The two *kaltmokh* carry the other things 482
of the outer room, the other horns and their own possessions.

The dairy vessels, &c., are carried by each man on a staff 796
cut from the *mòrs* tree, the staff being called *pepkati* (the
*pütusht* of the village migration). Each of the *persin* and *alug*
is fixed on the staff by placing it on a roll of *kakhudri*, called
a *tedshk*, round which six pieces of the string called *twadrinar*
are tied. The six strings are passed round the vessel and
fastened to the staff. The *palol* fastens on the three *persin* in
such a way that when the staff is on his shoulder two of the
vessels will be in front of him and the other behind his back,
one of the vessels in front containing milk. The *tòrzum* are
placed on the top of the *persin* as when they are in the dairy,
and the *persinkudriki* is carried in the *peptòrzum*. The *kwoi*
is fastened on in front, and the *kòghlag* and wands are placed
along the staff. The lamp is put inside the *idrkwoi* and the
latter tied to the end of the stick, so that it is behind the
back of the *palol* when being carried. Care is taken that an
interval is left between the *idrkwoi* and the other things; even
when being carried from one dairy to another the objects intermediate
between those of the inner and those of the outer
room are kept separate from and not allowed to touch the
more sacred vessels of the inner room. The staff with its

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This was the origin of the division of the Keadr people into the Keadrol and the Kwaradrol.

One day Kwoten went to the *wars ti* of Pan and took buttermilk and slept there, and he did the same at the *arsaiir ti* of Kwòdrdoni, and since that day the people of Pan have had the privilege of taking buttermilk and sleeping at the places of each *ti*.

Kwoten also made two *teiks* (stones or wooden posts at which buffaloes are killed at the funerals), the *parsteiks* for the Panol and the *kirshteiks* for the Kuirsiol.

[177] It is owing to the example of Kwoten that the Todas now take meals in Kurumba villages. Before his time they had never done so, but Kwoten one day went to a Kurumba village and took food, and since that time all Todas have done so.

Kwoten was also the first Toda to go to a Kota village. He wanted one day to go to Mitur in the Wainad, and as it was getting dark and he was still on his way, he went to the Kota village of Kulgadi (Gudalur). He sat on their *tün*, or bed, got new pots and food from them, and, taking both to the stream called Marspa or Marsva, he cooked and ate the food there, and then, returning to the village, slept on a Kota *tün*. Since that time Todas have gone to that village, and have done as Kwoten did, but they will not go to any other Kota village.

One day Kwoten went with Erten of Keadr, who was spoken of as his servant, to Pòni, in the direction of Polkat (Calicut). At Pòni there is a stream called Palpa, the commencement of which may be seen on the Kundahs. Kwoten and Erten went to drink water out of the stream at a place where a goddess (*teu*) named Terkosh had been bathing. When Kwoten was about to drink from his hands, he found in the water a long golden hair; he measured the length of the hair and found it was greater than his height; he had a long stick in his hand called *pirs*, and found that the hair was longer than this stick. Then he asked Erten about it. Erten knew it was the hair of a *teu*, but thought it best not to tell Kwoten, and tried to persuade him that it was of no importance, and proposed that they should return home.

Another day the *palol* told Kwoto to pour out the remainder of the buttermilk at the appointed place. Instead of 173
doing this Kwoto poured it into the stream, and the buttermilk 753
so poured became a god called Mòraman, who sends small-
pox.[1] Then the *palol* became very angry and said he would 773
no longer be *palol*, if he had to keep such a *kaltmokh*. Then 776
Kwoto revealed to the *palol* and to the real *kaltmokh* that 886
he was a god, and gave them a medicine called *mûvòmad*, which has the property that anyone who takes it will never grow old.

After giving *mûvòmad* to the *palol* and *kaltmokh*, Kwoto 173
sent them into the air, together with the dairy and the 773
buffaloes and everything belonging to the *ti*, and they all
went in the air to Kupars, near Pan; they stayed there for 776
some time and then disappeared, and now nothing can be seen of them, but if people go near Kupars, they hear the voices of the *palol* and *kaltmokh* when they are talking to one another.

Since that time the people of Keradr have been without a *ti*.

Another story in which Kwoto played a prominent part 173
is connected with the custom of eating flesh. I received 177
several versions of this story and was unable to satisfy
myself which was correct. 262

According to one account Kwoto once went to Mitur 773
in the Wainad, where Kurumbas live. Kwoto played with
these people, and one day caught and killed a wild buffalo. 776
He said to the Kurumbas, "I have killed this buffalo; let us eat its flesh"; and he gave to each a portion. The Kurumbas ate their portions, but Kwoto only pretended to eat; he held out his *putkuli* in front of him and instead of eating dropped his portions inside the cloak. When the Kurumbas had finished, Kwoto got up and all saw on the place where he had been sitting the flesh which he had pretended to eat. Then the Kurumbas were angry and went to beat Kwoto with sticks, asking why he had not eaten the flesh, and they insisted that Kwoto should eat some of it. Kwoto ran away, and when the Kurumbas pursued him he

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[1] The Hindu god who sends smallpox is Mari or Mariaman. The Toda name for buttermilk is *mòr*.

173 pretended that he was lame and consented to eat some of
● 177 the flesh of the buffalo. He also told them that he was a god and said that he would dance before them, and did so
262 like a lame man. He told the Kurumbas that whenever
773 he came in the future, he would dance to the Kurumbas first
776 and then to the Todas; and now the Kwoto *teuol*, or diviner (see Chap. XII), when he dances, does so first to the Kurumbas, and when he dances before them he does so as if he were lame.

After this Kwoto disappeared and since that time has not been seen. He is said to live in a temple at Mitur, but "wherever there is a god, there also is Kwoto, or Meilitars."

According to another account, this story was told of the people called Panins (Panyas), but in this version Kurumbas were also said to be present, though it was the Panins who were made to eat the flesh.

According to a third account, obtained, however, from an untrustworthy informant, Kwoto practised this deception on the gods themselves, and made them eat the flesh of a calf while only pretending to eat himself. This was said to have been the starting-point of the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony, and Kwoto was said to have killed the calf with the same formalities as are now used in this ceremony. All other Todas strenuously denied that Kwoto made the gods eat flesh. There was, however, so much reticence about the *[illegible]kumptthpimi* ceremony and its history, that I am not confident that Kwoto was not in some way connected with its origin, and that the version of my untrustworthy informant may in this case have been correct.

### OTHER GODS

773 There are very many other deities. Of the following I can
776 give little more than the names.

Atiato is the *nòdrodchi* of the Kwòdrdoni clan and also of Pedrkars. He lives near the chief villages of these clans, and has a temple of which the priest is said to be an Irula, and Todas sometimes give to this god offerings of clarified butter.

773 Konto or Konteu is the *nòdrodchi* of the Panol, and lives on
776 the hill Konto, to which fire is set by the *palol* of the Kars or Pan *ti* (see Chap. XIII).

Kòdrtho is the *nòdrodchi* of Nidrsi. He played a part in the history of Kwoto, and according to some accounts he was the *mun*, or maternal uncle, of this god.

Near the source of the Paikara river, there is a cave in which there is a pool called Alvoi. Sometimes this pool gives forth a loud bubbling noise, and this is believed to be due to a *ten* dipping himself in the water. The name of the god is Alvoi Kalvoi, Kalvoi, situated at some distance from the pool, being a hill on which the god usually lives.

There are other gods about whose histories I have no information. Tiligush is the *nòdrodchi* of Päm and Karadr of Taradr. Pòrzo inhabits a hill near Nòdrs, and Karzo, a hill near Kars, and the names of other gods, such as Kaladrvan, Teikhun, Peigwa, Karmunteu, Kondilteu and Mundilteu, are mentioned in the prayers of the *ti* dairies.

114 In addition to these, who are certainly true Toda gods, the
177 Todas also pay respect to the gods of the other tribes on the Nilgiris, while occasionally the names of Hindu gods are men-
776 tioned in their ceremonies. If a Toda be asked if he worships one of these gods, he will almost certainly assent, but at the same time he distinguishes them from his own gods. The only deity who seemed to be confused with their own gods by some of the Todas was Petkon, whose Badaga name was said to be Betakarasan. Breeks calls him Betikhan, and states that he is a hunting god; and according to some Todas Petkon was a son of Teikirzi.

Previous accounts of the Toda gods have been very erratic. Some writers have given the names of Hindu gods. Breeks gives the names of dairies as those of gods, though he also records abbreviated versions of several of the stories given in this chapter. The most curious account, however, of the Toda gods is that of Marshall, who gives[1] the following as the names of five gods which are muttered when milk is put on the sacred bells:—Ânmungâno, Godingâtho, Beligoshu, Dekulâria, and Kazudâva. We puzzled over these words for

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[1] P. 142.

114
177
776

a long time, and could not discover the names of gods even remotely resembling them. Finally it became clear that the last was "*kars ud âva*" ("Give me one rupee"). Similarly there was little doubt that "Beligoshu, Dekulâria" stood for "*beli karsu tudkersia*" ("Will you not give me a silver coin?"), the Badaga equivalent of the last word being very much like Dekulâria. The first two names we could not identify with certainty, but the first is possibly "*en mûn gânei*" ("Do not see my face"), and the second is possibly the name of a Badaga buffalo-pen.

are not used at funerals. They are also distinguished as 173
*patatmani* and *ertatmani*, a distinction not met with in any 234
other village dairy. It seems probable that they are the 778
representatives of the two kinds of bells of a *ti*, the *mani* proper and the *kudrsmani*. The *ertatmani* of Kiudr are 'fed' with buttermilk, a procedure not followed, so far as I know, in any other dairy, but it may be that this is a feature of the procedure of the *ti* dairy which escaped me. Certainly the most likely explanation of the existence of these bells at Kiudr is that they are survivals of its former position as a *ti* dairy.

The villages of Kiudr and Teidr both belong to the Teivaliol, and this raises the question whether this division of the Todas may not have possessed *ti* herds and *ti* dairies of their own at one time, and may not always have had to be content with providing dairymen for institutions belonging to the Tartharol. No information could be given on this point, but it seems unlikely that dairies and places belonging to a Tarthar clan should have been handed over to the Teivaliol when they were no longer used as *ti* dairies and *ti* places.

Certain Tarthar villages are also said to have had at one time *ti* dairies, especially the sacred places of Nòdrs and Òdr. This probably means that there is a tradition that the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* were at one time kept at these places which, as we have seen, are still visited by the *palol* during his ordination ceremonies.

The process of extinction of *ti* institutions can be seen 178
in progress at the present time. The Nidrsi *ti* is not now 234
in working order; there has been no *palol* for some years and its dairies are unoccupied. It is said that a *palol* would have to be appointed temporarily if it was desired to perform the second funeral ceremonies of a Nidrsi man, but in the present condition of the Nidrsiol, it seems to me not at all unlikely, either that the rule will be disregarded, or that the second funeral ceremonies will not be performed, and that the Nidrsi *ti* will become absolutely extinct, possibly dragging down
another institution into extinction with it. 177

The Kwòdrdoni *ti* is now only active for a short time once 178
every year in order to satisfy a ceremonial requirement of the 234

177 Kotas, and this institution may possibly soon become little
178 more than a name. If it were not for the Kotas, it would
undoubtedly be as near extinction as the *ti* of Nidrsi. One
234 *palol* of the Pan *ti* has recently ceased to be appointed, and the same difficulty which has led to his disappearance will probably sooner or later vacate the other office, and Pan will follow in the footsteps of the other clans. Many of the dairies belonging even to the more prosperous *ti* institutions are now disused, and some have completely vanished. The legend of Kwoto preserves a tradition of ceremonial accompanying the migration of the buffaloes of the Kars *ti* which has now entirely disappeared, and nothing is known of the special features of ritual which were practised at many *ti* dairies which have become extinct.

Of dairies of other grades, the *poh* of Kanòdrs is now only occupied for a short time once a year, and its ceremonial may soon also become extinct. The conical *poh* of Kars and the seven-roomed *kudrpali* of Nòdrs are dairies which have ceased to exist, and with the extinction of the latter have gone completely all traces of the ritual which was practised in this kind of dairy, and nothing is known as to the meaning of the seven rooms.

Some of these changes are recent, and due to the altered conditions produced by the general invasion of the Nilgiris, but others date back to a time before Europeans came to the hills, and were due to intrinsic conditions, chiefly the hardships connected with the ritual practised in certain of the dairies. The altered surroundings of the Todas are undoubtedly hastening the process of decay, and institutions which would probably have lasted for centuries will now almost certainly disappear in a few decades.

Karkievan (63), the *palol* of the Nòdrs *ti*, was formerly a 191
*teuol*, but gave up divining when he became *palol*. 198

All the above belong to the Teivaliol, and the only Tarthar
diviner at the present time is Mongudrvan (13) of Kars. He 787
is said to be inspired by the god of Miuni village, and to speak 791
the Toda language. The village of Miuni belongs to the
Teivaliol, so that the only Tarthar diviner is inspired by a
god connected with the division to which the majority of the
diviners belong.

Two other Tarthar men, Kerveidi (5) and Tevò (3), both of 177
Nòdrs, are said to have been *teuol* at one time, but they have 787
ceased to divine. They succeeded another man of their clan. 791
Kangudr, who is inspired by Meilitars, has to 'dance' or
divine before the Kurumbas, and when he does so he dances 198
as a lame man. This custom is reputed to have come down 776
from the time of Meilitars (see p. 210), who danced as a lame
man before the Kurumbas, and promised that whenever he
came in the future he would dance to the Kurumbas first and
then to the Todas.

It will be noticed that many of the deities by whom the diviners are inspired are not true Toda gods. Petkon, who inspires Midjkudr, Pangudr, and Pöteners, is said to be a hunting god. According to some he was a son of Teikirzi, but is almost certainly not a true Toda deity.

Arivili inspires Tadrners and Ethgudr, who are both reputed to speak the language of the Mondardsetipol, and he is probably a god of these people, a tribe of the Wainad. Ethrol, who also inspires Tadrners, is probably another deity of the same people. I do not know anything about Kuderol, by whom Kobuv is believed to be inspired.

It is noteworthy that the only existing Tarthar *teuol* speaks the Toda language when divining, and is believed to be inspired by a local Toda god; while the diviners belonging to the Teivaliol seem to speak dialects of Malayalam, and many are believed to be inspired by gods who are almost certainly not true Toda deities.

The *teuol* are consulted whenever any misfortune befalls a 787
Toda. The following are various instances in which I have 791
records of resort to divination: sickness or death of a Toda

portant a family to have *murthvichi*" and any one who has 124
been the cause of such a state of things is liable to suffer 754
misfortunes. When therefore some of Teikudr's buffaloes
died and Teikudr consulted the *teuol*, these diviners gave as 578
the reasons for the misfortunes the *murthvichi*, not the *piliutvichi*, of Teitnir. According to Teitnir, Teikudr was himself a sorcerer and there were reports that the recent death of Teitnir's wife was due to the *piliutvichi* of Teikudr, and just before I left the hills, I was told that the *teuol* had arrived at the conclusion that Teikudr had had a hand in her death.

The Toda sorcerers are not only feared by their fellow Todas 177
but also by the Badagas, and it is probably largely owing 754
to fear of Toda sorcery that the Badagas continue to pay 787
their tribute of grain.

The Badagas may also consult the Toda diviners. In one recent case a Badaga consulted Mongudrvan, who found that the misfortune from which the man was seeking relief was due to the sorcery of Kaners. Kaners was, no doubt, propitiated by the Badagas, and it is probable that the belief of the Badagas in the magical powers of the Todas is turned to good account by the latter.

In some cases Todas have been killed by the Badagas 177
owing to this belief. About ten years ago Pushteidi of Nòdrs 754
(6), the elder brother of Keitan, was a very notable sorcerer, much dreaded by both Todas and Badagas. He visited the Badaga village of Nanjanad on the occasion of a feast, and soon after a Badaga child died and its death was at once ascribed to the sorcery of Pushteidi. Not long after, Pushteidi's dead body was found near his village, and there seemed to be no reason to doubt that the Badagas had killed him, but owing to the fact that the Todas held the funeral and burnt the body before they made a report to the police, the crime could not be thoroughly investigated nor the murderers brought to account.

One of the events which the Todas ascribe to sorcery is 234
failure of the milk to coagulate. If there is much trouble in 787
getting the milk to form *adrpars*, the *teuol* are consulted, and 754
they sometimes find that it is due to sorcery and sometimes

234 that some offence against the dairy has been committed. I
787 have no information, however, as to the method which the
754 sorcerer uses to prevent the coagulation of the milk of any
one who has offended him.

124 The only other indication of Toda methods of sorcery came
to me from a Badaga source. A Badaga *maistri* said that he
754 had been given an account by a Toda. According to this account, the sorcerer takes three leaves of each of the plants which the Badagas call *jakalmul*, *pemmul*, and *tupumul* (evidently varieties of the *muli* of the Todas), puts the nine leaves in a new earthenware pot and buries the pot in a wood after saying certain formulæ in which he wishes evil to a given man whom he mentions by name. When the man falls ill and the diviners say by whom his illness has been produced, a reconciliation is effected and the sorcerer digs up the pot of leaves when the sufferer again becomes well. This information came from a Badaga source and I could not obtain confirmation of it from the Todas but it is possibly an approximation to the method employed in one form of Toda sorcery.

177 The Todas dread the sorcery of the Kurumbas more than
754 that of their own *pilikòren*. The latter can be remedied, but
the sorcery of the Kurumbas, called *kurubudrchiti* (*Kurub* =
Kurumba), is much more dangerous and cannot be remedied.
[721] If it is found that a Kurumba has made a man ill, the only
thing to be done is to kill the Kurumba (see p. 641).

When Kutadri became ill while he was with me in the Kundahs, the first suggestion was that the Kurumbas were responsible. Soon after this I went to Kotagiri, and Kòdrner, Kutadri's brother, who was to accompany me, said that as the Kurumbas were very numerous in that part he did not like to go alone with me and made a stipulation that while I was on that side of the hills I was to provide him with a companion. Mr. Thurston[1] describes a similar experience in which his guide was afraid to walk from Ootacamund to Kotagiri lest he should come to grief at the hands of the Kurumbas. In this case it seemed that the man was using his fears as an excuse, and in my case the fear may have been

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[1] *Bulletin*, i. p. 182.

used as a lever to provide occupation for a friend, but that 177
there was a very real fear of Kurumba sorcery I have no 754
doubt.

It is easy to see how this belief in the magical powers of the Kurumbas may have arisen, or, more probably, how its existence may have been maintained. The slopes of the hills on which the Kurumbas live are extremely malarious, and it must often have happened that a visit to a Kurumba village was followed by an attack of fever of a severe kind. We probably have here a good example of a vicious circle. Whenever two tribes of different degrees of culture live near one another, the members of the lower usually acquire the reputation of being sorcerers. For this and other reasons they are driven to a less healthy district, and the unhealthiness of the district helps to maintain and reinforce their reputation for magical powers.

## The Evil Eye

Various misfortunes may befall a man if any one says that 777
he is looking very well or is very well dressed. It is also 753
unlucky that any one should look at a man when he is eating.
Similarly it is unlucky for anyone to say that a buffalo is giving
much milk; she will probably kick her calf or will suffer in
some other way soon after.

This kind of misfortune is usually called *kanarvaznudr*,
which was translated, "if looking anxiously." It is also often
known now by the Tamil name *konduti* or *kontushti* or evil
eye. One of the commonest effects of *kanarvaznudr* is indi-
gestion. When anyone is suffering from evil effects of this 755
kind, he calls in one of certain people called *utkòren*, or 756
"praying people," or, probably more correctly, "saying incan-
tations people." Piutolvan (10), Keitazvan (15), and a woman,
Sinpurs (7), are *utkòren* of repute. Any one of the male
*utkòren* may be spoken of as an *utpol*, but I was doubtful
whether this name would also be used for a woman.

The *utpol* rubs the belly of the sick person, holds one 755
corner of his cloak in his left hand, and, putting some salt on 177
the cloak, strokes the salt with a thorn of the plant called

755 *pathanmul.*[1] The thorn and some of the salt are then put into
177 the fire, and the *utpol* utters the following incantation :—

| *Pithioteu Ön idith, Teikirzim Tirshtim idith,* | *tan* | *âv* | *kan* | *pudrs* | *kan* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | his | mother | eye | perish | eye |

| *pudri* | *ûmâ ;* | *tan* | *in* | *kan pudrs kan pudri ûmâ ;* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| be destroyed | may ; | | father | |

and this formula is repeated, substituting for *av* or *in* the names of the following relatives :—*an*, *akkan*, *nòdrved*, *mun*, *mimi*, *pian*, *piav.*[2] Then follows the same formula repeated, in which the names of various tribes are substituted for those of the relatives, as "*mav kan pudrs kan pudri uma*"—Badaga eye perish, may his eye be destroyed." The people mentioned are *mav* (Badaga), *pedr* (Tamil), *suti* (? chetties), *kurub* (Kurumbas), *erl* (Irulas), *panin* (Panyas).[3] The last clause is *möditi kan pudrs kan pudri uma*, extending the imprecation to the women of all the people already mentioned. When the incantation is finished, the remainder of the salt is eaten by the sick man.

755 The Toda *utkòren* may practise 'absent treatment.' If a man wishes to treat a sufferer from the evil eye, and is unable to visit his patient, he puts the salt on the ground and strokes it with the thorn of *pathanmul*, repeating the above incantation as he strokes. He then sends the salt to the sick man, by whom it is eaten.

The treatment in any case is repeated till it has been done three times.

[234] If it is a buffalo which is suffering from the evil effects of *kanarvasnudr*, the *utkòren* use the same method, and the salt is eaten by the buffalo.

278 In the special case in which the evil is produced by saying
that a man is looking well or is well dressed, the *utkòren* have
755 a different method. They take a piece of the root called *kabudri*,[4] and a plant called *kwagal*, and squeeze the juice of
both into a vessel.

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[1] The leaves of this plant, *Solanum indicum*, are used in the ordination of the *kugvalikartmokh*.

[2] For the meaning of these kinship-terms, see Chap. XXI.

[3] It is noteworthy that the Kotas are not included.

[4] This is the plant, *Euphorbia Rothiana*, used at the purification of the *ti* dairy (p. 136).

at these times is hidden in bushes or hollows in the rocks, 302
and the reason given is that it may not be taken by crows. 754

Nail-parings are buried in the ground, and this is done [234]
in order that they may not be eaten by the buffaloes, for
"nails are poisonous to buffaloes," who will die or become ill
if they find them when grazing.

There was some difference of opinion as to what was done [753]
with the hair cut off at the ceremony called *tersamptpimi* (see
p. 333). It was clear, however, that care was taken that it
should not be eaten by crows, for if crows obtained any of
the hair first cut from a child's head the child would suffer
from shaking of some kind.

Both at the first head-shaving and at the *tersamptpimi* 751
ceremony special bangles are put round the wrist of the
child, and these are certainly of the nature of charms, for it
is believed that the child would fall ill if they were not used.

The Todas believe in certain injurious influences which 177
they class together under the name of *pudrtvuti*,[1] but I was 776
able to obtain very little information about them, and I 751
suspect that belief in these influences is largely of recent
growth and due to contact with Hinduism.

One variety of *pudrtvuti* is the evil influence of *Keirt*
(*Keirtpudrtvuti*) at the ceremonies after childbirth (see p. 326).
Another variety is *kòdipudrtvuti* (*kòdi*, demon?). The Todas
now adopt as a preventative of this evil influence a round
mark made with ashes above the nose. If a Toda should 755
suffer from the effects of *kòdipudrtvuti*, two remedies are 278
adopted. One is called *kavkal wart atpimi—i.e.*, "*kavkal* 824
(a stone) grind, pour we." I did not obtain an account of the
remedy, but it is possibly the same as that already described
which is used by a man when frightened. The other remedy
is *kwagal atpimi*. *Kwagal* (*Polygonum rude* or *P. Chinense*)
is the same plant which is used in one of the remedies for the
evil eye (see p. 264) and it is possible again that this remedy
is the same as that already described. *Kwagal* is also the
plant used by the goddess Puzi to quench the fire of her son,
Kurindo.

It will have been noticed that the formulæ recorded in this 000

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[1] *Pûdrt* is probably the Toda form of the word *bhût*.

time were thought to be sufficient for his purpose. It is also 771
possible, however, that the similarity of prayer and spell 768
points to a time when the functions of priest and sorcerer
were combined in one person; that as the restrictions which 754
hedge round the life of the dairyman-priest increased, it 793
became impracticable for him to exert his magical functions, and that there has therefore come about a differentiation of function, though the means used continue to show a close resemblance.

It may perhaps be said that the clear evidence of the supposed influence of the gods takes the facts which have been described in this chapter out of the realm of magic and puts them in that of religion. The Toda's methods of procuring ill to his neighbours are clearly in their essential nature of a magical kind, but their close blend with religious ideas is the reason why I have considered them in their present place.

## OMENS

The Todas do not pay much attention to omens, but meet- 787
ing certain animals is regarded as lucky or unlucky. The 825
most definite instance of an omen-animal is a black bird 773
called *karpūls*, which is said to be the Indian cuckoo. If 177
a Toda is going on an errand and sees this bird on the left side, he takes it as a bad omen and turns back; if on the right side, it is a good omen. This bird appears twice in Toda legend. It warned Püv, the son of Ön, and in the last scene of the life of Kwoten, it appeared going from left to right. It is noteworthy that when Erten is interpreting the omen in this legend, he brings in Naraian (Narayan), who is certainly not a Toda deity, and this suggests that the whole incident of the omen-bird may be an accretion to the legends, and that the belief in omens has been borrowed from the Badagas or other Hindus.

birth of the first child,[1] or, what is more probable, pregnancy 171
ceremonies resembling those customary in India, which have 843
acquired social significance and have come to resemble 851
marriage ceremonies. But the numerous ceremonies which
are performed during pregnancy by the Hindus take place 585
during every pregnancy and are, therefore, sharply differentiated from the Toda rites.

## CHILDBIRTH

When the woman returns from the seclusion-hut after the 844
*urvatpimi* ceremony she lives in her usual home with the rest of the family and does her usual work, and she is delivered there. It seemed that any one might be present, and that there was no special ceremony connected with delivery.

During delivery, the woman kneels with her head resting on the breast of a man, usually her husband, who clasps his hands behind her neck. She is tended by a woman, usually by one noted for skill in these matters. If there is much delay, all men and women present lay their hands on the head of the woman and say:

"*Swâmi maz vûrmâ ; swâmi pûdikan termâ.*"

If this is not efficacious a man brings water in a vessel and prays, stirring the water with a piece of grass of the kind called *kakar*. When the prayer is finished, the man sprinkles the water over the woman.

The cord (*pekû*) is cut with a knife, being held down with a stick while it is being cut.

The afterbirth is called *naj* or *pekûkûdri*. If there is delay [177]
in its delivery, a medicine called *najmad* is given which is procured from the Badagas. The afterbirth is buried on the day on which the woman goes to the seclusion-hut, a few days
after delivery.

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[1] This seems to have occurred in a similar ceremony practised by the Badagas, among whom it is said that a woman is not fully considered a wife till about the seventh month of the first pregnancy, when a cord is put round her neck by the husband and the legal marriage becomes complete. (See Thurston, *Bull.* IV., p. 167.)

192 764 adopted in anthropological literature. The second funeral is called by the Badagas *bara kedu*, the 'dry funeral,' and this term also has been generally adopted. I never heard these terms used by the Todas themselves, who always spoke of the *etvainolkedr* and the *marvainolkedr*, though it seemed that the first funeral might sometimes be called *karchokedr*, which probably means fresh or green funeral.

177 764 The funeral ceremonies have undergone some modification in recent times owing to the intervention of the Government. Formerly it was the custom to slaughter many buffaloes at every funeral. This impoverished the people and was prohibited by the Government about forty years ago, and since that time the number of buffaloes killed at each ceremony has been limited to two for each person. This has had most influence on the second funeral ceremonies, which, largely owing to this prohibition, are now much less elaborate and prolonged than in former times.

764 The funeral ceremonies are held at certain appointed places called *kertnòdr*, different for each clan. Sometimes these places are at, or close to, villages where the people are now living; sometimes they are at places which were formerly inhabited; while in other cases, again, there is no evidence that the funeral places have ever been inhabited. In every case, whether inhabited or not, the place where a funeral is held is called a *mad*, the same name as is used for a village.

Each clan has at least two funeral places, one for males and the other for females, and in several cases a clan has more than one funeral place for each sex. Some clans have different places for the two funeral ceremonies, and the Piedrol, who have one outlying branch of their clan at Kavidi in the Wainad, have special funeral places for the first funeral of members of this branch, the second funeral, or *marvainolkedr*, being held at the chief funeral place of the clan. Others, again, have a special place for boys who have not passed through the ear-piercing ceremony.

349 764 In general, a funeral hut (see Fig. 48) is specially built for the reception of the dead body, this hut being usually erected within a stone circle found at the funeral place. At the funeral of a male, this hut is called *kertnòdrpali* or *neilpali*. It is

man of certain fees from those members of other clans who 764
have married into the family.

The cloth used is a red loincloth of a kind which is never worn by the Todas, but, so far as I could ascertain, it is only an ordinary cloth procured in the bazaar.

## THE CREMATION

After the *kachütthti* ceremony the body is replaced on the wooden bier and borne to the *methkudi*, where the funeral pyre has been erected within the wood, usually at no great distance from the funeral hut.

The bier is laid by the side of the pyre, and the dead person is then supplied with the various necessaries for the other world. Many of the things are placed in the large pocket, or *kudsh*, between the two folds of the cloak in which the body is enclosed.

The things supplied are chiefly food, ornaments, and money. The food includes grain, rice, jaggery, limes, and honey. Some of the food is put directly into the *kudsh*, while some of the grain, rice, and honey are mixed together and put in a metal bowl. Tobacco, coconuts, ghi, or articles of food from the bazaar may be added.

A number of square boxes made of rattan and called [439]
*pettei*[1] are also placed on the bier. They are procured from Mitur in the Wainad, and are often called *miturpettei* or *mitudpettei*. Jaggery and other things are put into each of the boxes, and they are covered with cloth, tied with thread, and adorned with cowries.

The ornaments placed on the corpse included rings for the fingers, armlets, necklaces, and earrings.

The money is collected from all present and put in rolls 764
into long purses, called *tinkani*. Most of the money used 436
for this occasion is old with Arabic inscriptions and is 177
known by the Todas as *irajkars*, the more recent coinage being called *englishkars*. In one collection of coins which

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[1] At the *azaramkedr* (see p. 381) these boxes are only burnt at a woman's funeral, their place at a man's funeral being taken by bamboo vessels called *wak*. This is probably also true of the *etvainolkedr*.

764 436 177 I was allowed to inspect many bore the date 1780, and among the more recent coins were included two Japanese yen. The rolls of coins are placed within the cloak, often near the feet of the dead person.

764 372 Meanwhile the pyre has been lighted. At the funeral of a man this must be done by means of fire made by friction. I have not recorded whether the fire is made by any special relative of the deceased or other special person. At the funeral of a woman, the fire is started by means of a lighted rag which has been soaked in ghi. The rag is lighted by a man, who at present uses matches for the purpose. Though lighted by a man the fire is applied to the funeral pyre by a woman, usually of the same clan as the dead person. The pyre is lighted on the top, where small pieces of wood have been placed, and butter is poured on the fire which gradually spreads downwards. The progress of the fire is very slow, and at every funeral at which I was present the fire was far from strong when the body was placed upon it.

764 766 At the funeral of a male, imitation buffalo horns of wood (*tebkuter* or *petkuter*, see Fig. 35) are placed on the fire and burnt. This was also done at the funeral of the girl Sinerani, but it seemed clear that this was unorthodox and was done by Kuriolv, the father of the dead girl, on account of his great sorrow at her death.

764 775 The body on the bier is now taken up and swung three times over the fire, while a small wooden framework resembling a miniature bier is held under the larger bier. As the body is swung over the fire in this way the bearers say:—

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| "*Kedr* | *tüttk* | *tâzâr* | *mud* | *tirk* | *tûkitth* | *tâthi*." |
| Funeral | fire | over | three | times | lifted | must. |

These words seem to be connected with the small wooden framework held under the body, for this is called *tütth tâzâr tûkitth kûrs*, or "fire over lifted (or lifting) stick."

The bier is then replaced on the ground and nearly all the objects of value are removed from the bier or from the pocket of the cloak. In one case I observed that the bangles were taken from the arms, all the rings except one

177 764 [533] At some time during the day, Kotas will have arrived, some to act as musicians (Fig. 56), others to take the flesh of the slaughtered buffaloes. The musicians play on their instruments, which may include a clarionet, a drum, tambourine, and brass horn, though usually I saw only the clarionet and drum. The musicians become especially active while the body is consuming. The other Kotas, who carry sharp sticks on which to carry away the flesh, begin to cut up the buffaloes as soon as the people have left the neighbourhood of the funeral hut. On more than one occasion I noticed Tamil women sitting not far from the funeral scene, and was told that they had come to buy some of the flesh from the Kotas, and I believe that it is not unknown for the flesh to find its way to the bazaar at Ootacamund.

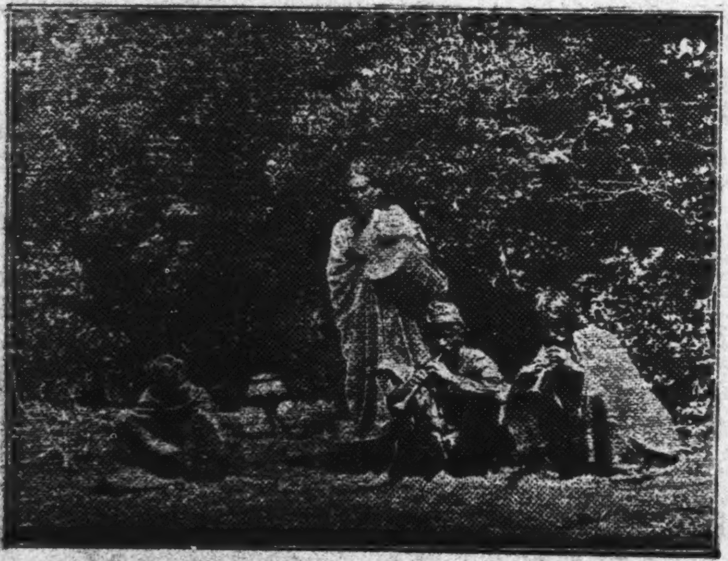

FIG. 56.—KOTAS PLAYING MUSIC AT A TODA FUNERAL.

764 765 Before the body is finally placed on the fire, a lock of hair is cut from the head to serve as one of the relics for the second funeral. It is cut by a near relative of the dead person; in the case of Sinerani, it was cut off by her boy-

# CHAPTER XVI

## FUNERAL CEREMONIES—*continued*

### THE MARVAINOLKEDR

765 766 177 THE second funeral may be held little more than a month after the *etvainolkedr*, or there may be an interval of a year or more, and in the case of a child both funeral ceremonies may be performed on one day. In the old days the *marvainolkedr* was a great occasion. The proceedings lasted for two whole days, and were prolonged till daybreak of the third. Many buffaloes were slaughtered; they were caught on the first day, when they were shut up in the circular pen and bells put on their necks. On the second day, they were taken from the pen to the slaughtering place, and various ceremonies took place in connexion with and after their deaths. This kind of funeral was called *tuüthkedr*, meaning "the putting in buffalo-pen funeral." In the old days this putting into the pen was sometimes omitted, especially in the case of poor or unimportant people, and the catching and killing of the buffaloes were both carried out on one day, and this kind of funeral was known as *marppitkedr*. At the present time the Todas only have the *marppitkedr*, owing to the restrictions on the number of buffaloes killed. The Todas seem now to believe that the Government have actually prohibited them from putting the buffaloes into the pen at the funerals, but I could not find that this was the case.

765 177 It is now the custom, and seems long to have been so, to hold the *marvainolkedr* of several people at the same time. The Government allows two buffaloes to be killed for each

person, and if two or more funerals are held simultaneously 765
it gives an appearance of the olden times. So far as I could 177
ascertain, however, the funerals of two or more people only take place together when they belong to the same clan.

In some cases, however, the funeral places of two or more 765
clans are very near one another. In such a case there might 618
be a certain amount of combination of the different ceremonies, but some of the rites would be carried out at different spots for each clan. Something of this kind appears to have happened at the funeral ceremonies recorded by Mr. Thurston (*Bull.* i., p. 176). Similarly the *marvainolkedr* of a man or woman of the same clan may be held simultaneously owing to the fact that the funeral places for the two sexes are usually close to one another. The buffaloes would, however, be killed at different places, and the remains would not be burnt and buried at the same *azaram*.

Owing to the custom of having the *marvainolkedr* of 765
several people simultaneously, it has often been supposed that the Todas have a kind of anniversary ceremony for all those who have died during the year, but there is no doubt that this is wrong. There was a large *marvainolkedr* soon after I left the hills (in January, 1903), but it was a ceremony for two women only, Narskuti (63 and 56), and Tersveli (63 and 52), both belonging to the Kuudrol, and it was held at Kurkalmut, the proper funeral place for the women of Kuudr. It is quite possible that owing to the restrictions on the slaughter of buffaloes it may become more and more the custom to hold several *marvainolkedr* simultaneously, and that this custom may develop into an anniversary ceremony. This could only come about, however, by throwing over the custom that the funerals of each clan should be held at a definitely appointed place, and there is no doubt that this has not yet happened.

At the second funeral ceremony the relics are placed in a 349
special hut, and at a man's funeral the hut has the same name 765
as at the *etvainolkedr*, and apparently it may sometimes happen that the same hut is used at both ceremonies. The second funeral is not always held, however, at the same place

*etvainolkedr.* At the funerals of Teivaliol the buffaloes are 765
caught by Tartharol and killed by Teivaliol of a clan different to that of the deceased. At the funerals of the Tartharol the buffaloes are caught by Teivaliol, and killed by the *wursol* or by a Tarthar man of a different clan, according as they are of the sacred or ordinary kind.

As the buffalo dies, the *narskedr* is brought up and laid by the head of the animal, and the lamenting and saluting take place around the buffalo and the remains, exactly as at the first funeral.

Sometimes a ceremony occurs immediately before the buffalo is caught. A man takes a ring of the creeper called *kakkudri* and throws it at one of the driven buffaloes. It should fall on the horns or neck of one of the buffaloes, but it does not matter whether on a buffalo which is to be killed or on another.

This throwing of the creeper, which is called *kakkudri erspimi*, or *kudri erspimi*,[1] "we throw the creeper," is done by the *wursol* at a Tarthar funeral, while at the funeral of the Teivaliol it is done by a *palikartmokh* of the same clan as the deceased. This ceremony used not to be performed at those funerals which lasted two days, when the buffaloes were shut into a pen on one day and killed on the next, but it should always be performed when the funeral ceremonies are limited to one day. It seems possible that the circular ring of creeper may be intended to represent the act of putting the animals in the circular pen, but the Todas could give me no information on this point. It seemed clear that it is only done at those funerals in which the buffaloes are not put into the pen.

## THE KOÒTITI CEREMONY

Among the Tartharol, with the exception of the people of 234
Melgars, a ceremony is performed at the funeral of a male 765
which is called *koòtiti*. In this ceremony blood is used which 177
in the present day is drawn from one of the slaughtered
buffaloes, but formerly a special buffalo was killed for this 783
purpose.

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[1] *Kudri* is the generic word for creeper.

765 234 177 783 According to the old custom the buffaloes were killed about four o'clock in the afternoon. About an hour later another buffalo of the ordinary kind was brought to the funeral place and killed by striking it on the head with a stone, and not with the back of an axe, as in the case of the other buffaloes. It might be killed by any Tarthar man, and then the *wursol* made a cut in the right side of the animal at the part called *kegampkwûdr* (over the ribs near the forelegs). The blood which ran from the wound was received into a cup made of *tudr* leaves, and powdered *tudr* bark was mixed with the blood in the cup. It is to this part of the ceremony that the name *kobtiti* ("blood he takes") is properly applied. At the present time the blood is drawn from one of the buffaloes killed in the ordinary course of the ceremony. However the blood may be obtained, the next step is to bring a female buffalo calf less than one year old. The mantle with which the remains have been covered is taken off, and is worn by a Teivali man who has adorned himself with many ornaments, including those ordinarily worn by women, such as the chain (*tagars*), necklace (*keiveli*), earrings (*kevthveli*), and bracelet (*pulthi*). He also holds a long pole called *tadri*. The remains, which are now covered with a loincloth (*tadrp*) only, are carried by two women to the place where the calf is standing.

The *wursol* and Teivali man then walk to the calf, the former throwing before and behind him as he walks the mixed blood and *tudr* bark from the cup. When the *wursol* comes to the calf he throws down the leaf cup, and the Teivali man then hangs on the neck of the calf a bell of the kind called *tukulir mani*, and, taking a bow and arrow in his hand, he says three times to the Tartharol, "*purs adikina?*"—"Shall I touch with the bow?" Each time the Tartharol reply, "*Purs ad!*" The Teivali man then touches the remains with the bow and arrow. He puts down the *tadri* on the ground, and the calf is driven away from the spot on which it had been standing. As soon as it begins to move all present, Tartharol and Teivaliol, cry out, "*ua! ua!*" and fall down and touch the earth with their foreheads. The bell is then removed from the calf, which is not killed, but is allowed to go free.

but is allowed to go free. The bell (*tukulir mani*) is kept by 177
the Kotas or Badagas till it is required by the Todas for 765
another funeral. 783

The assumption of the cloak covering the remains by the Teivali man is called *ârtûrverutiti*, and the throwing of the mixed blood and bark by the *wursol* is called *kedrkarchiti*—*i.e.*, funeral (or remains) purifying. Either at this stage or later the blood and *tudr* bark are rubbed on the piece of skull and hair which form the *narskedr*.

One of the most important features of this *kodtiti* ceremony [778] is that the sacred *tudr* bark is used The ceremony is not performed at the funerals of the Teivaliol or of the Melgarsol, because they may use *tudr* in the ordination ceremonies for the offices of *palol*, *wursol*, or *kaltmokh*.

The object of the ceremony appears to be that members of those clans who have no chance of being purified with *tudr* during life shall be purified with this substance before they go finally to Amnòdr. A Teivali or Melgars man, however, has only used *tudr* if he has been ordained to one of the three offices above mentioned. If the dead man has not been through an ordination ceremony, however, the purification does not take place at his second funeral, but a Tarthar man puts a piece of *tudr* bark into his right hand at the first funeral (see p. 367).

In the account which Breeks gives of this ceremony he states that certain formulæ are said, including "*Karma odi pona*," "May the sin run away." I could not confirm this, and I do not believe that *karma* is a Toda word. It is probable that the use of these or other formulæ is an innovation.

The Badagas of the Nilgiris let loose a calf at a funeral to bear the sins of the deceased.[1] It is possible that the calf in this Toda ceremony may have the same significance. If so, the practice has not improbably been borrowed, and the fact that the bell which is hung on the neck of the calf is kept by Kotas or Badagas suggests that the whole incident may have been borrowed by the Todas from one or other of these races.

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[1] See Thurston, *Bull.*, ii. p. 4.

602 this case the hair was burnt in an iron ladle before the clarified
butter was applied.

605 This ceremony of *narsatipimi* is performed by the daughter-
765 in-law of a woman, or by the mother-in-law of a girl or woman
who has no daughter-in-law. At the funeral of Narskuti (56 and 63) it was performed by Piliurs, the wife of Tüliners (56), the son of the dead woman. At the funeral of Tersveli (52 and 63), a much younger woman, who had no daughter-in-law, the relics were anointed by Muteimi (52 and 69), the mother of Teitnir, Tersveli's husband. I have no record of the person who performs this ceremony at the funeral of a man.

The next step in the proceedings is to light a fire within the circle of stones, this fire being called the *asaramtüt.* Firewood is put within the *asaram* and the *narskedr* in its covering is placed on the wood. If the *asaramkedr* is being held for two or more people simultaneously, the remains of all are put on the wood together.[1] In the pockets of the mantles forming the coverings are placed grain, jaggery, and coins. The *asaramtüt* is then lighted by taking three firebrands in succession from the *puntüt.* The firebrands are placed on the firewood and on the remains by the daughter-in-law or mother-in-law of a female as in the last ceremony.[2] Then all the people take up the burning wood from the *puntüt* and place it within the *asaram* over the remains. The various objects previously brought from the funeral hut are now placed on the fire and burnt, and the special food known as *ashkkarthpimi* may be thrown into the fire. Then all the people cry together, forehead to forehead.

765 The following are the objects burnt with the remains on the
177 *asaramtüt,* at the funeral of a male:—

(*a*) In the pocket of the cloak, jaggery, the husked grain
439 called *patcherski,* husked barley (*kodjerski*), and rupees in two

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[1] As I have already pointed out, this would only happen if the people were of the same clan and sex.

[2] My notes do not make it absolutely clear who lights the fire at the funeral of a male. The *puntüt* is lighted by a man of the same clan, and this is probably also the case with the *asaramtüt.* Owing to the fact that a woman becomes a member of her husband's clan, the daughter-in-law who lights the fire at a woman's funeral will also be of the same clan as the deceased.

bags, one called *tinkani*, made by the Todas themselves, and 765
the other called *katshiram*, procured from Hindus.

(*b*) Sticks of the following kinds of wood: *pars*, *karneizi* 177
*tavai*, *kali*, *toarsmitch*, *kar*. 439

(*c*) A *naumakud*, a club or stick cut from the *pars* tree (Fig. 67).

(*d*) A *tadri*, or long pole used in the dance and in the *koòtiti* ceremony of the previous day.

(*e*) Several *wak*, bamboo vessels filled with grain, butter, ghi, honey, &c., usually ten in number for adults and five for children.

(*f*) A *tek*, a basket made by the Kotas in which barley or poppy heads are put.

(*g*) A bow (*purs*) and three arrows (*ab*) (Fig. 67).

(*h*) A *kafkati*, or knife, called on ordinary occasions *kudrval*.

(*i*) A *masth*, the axe used to kill the buffaloes on the previous day, called on this occasion *irkîpmasth*.

(*j*) A *miturkwadr*, the palm-leaf umbrella, so called because procured from Mitur in the Wainad.

(*k*) A *kudshmurn*, a special kind of sieve made by the Kotas and not used in ordinary life.

At the funeral of a woman boxes called *pettei* or *miturpettei* 765
are burnt instead of the *wak*. These are small boxes made of rattan, covered with cloth and adorned with cowries. There are also burnt the three objects especially connected with women, the pounder (*wask*), sieve (*murn*), and broom (*kip*), but the pounder is only burnt after the following ceremony has taken place.

As soon as the things have been placed on the fire, there 602
follows the ceremony[1] called *irsankâti*. At the funeral of 605
a male, the *matchuni*, or cousin, of the dead man puts on
the woman's ornaments known as *tagars*, *keiveli*, and *pulthi*, 765
and stands at the opening in the circle of stones with his right arm outside his cloak (*kevenarut*). He is joined there by the man who has lighted the fire, and they cry together, both standing at the entrance of the *azaram*, where they

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[1] There was some question as to whether the ceremony did not begin as soon as the fire was lighted.

602 remain till the fire is extinguished. Owing to the fact that
605 the fire is lighted by a man of the same clan as the deceased,
the two men who cry together will also be *matchuni*—
765 thus, at the funeral of Karspisti (12), the fire was lighted by his half-brother Karzo. Pakhwar (16), who performed the *irsankati* ceremony, was the *matchuni* of both Karzo and Karspisti, being the son of the brother of Tedjveli, the mother of Karzo and stepmother of Karspisti.

At the funeral of a female, the woman who stands at the entrance should also be a *matchuni* of the deceased. She is decorated with ornaments, in this case proper to her own sex, and she stands at the entrance of the *asaram* holding the pounder. She is joined by a woman closely related to the deceased and the two women cry together. After crying together for a while, they go round the circle and then put the pounder on the fire, after which they take off their ornaments.

At the funeral of Narskuti (56 and 63), Mutkadrk (56 and 72) stood in front of the circle holding the pounder, and was joined by Munat, the daughter of the dead woman.

At the funeral of Tersveli (52 and 63), Edjog (56) stood at the entrance; she was the *matchuni* of the dead woman, being the daughter of Tüliners, the brother of Tersveli's mother. She was joined by Teimidz (52), the sister of the dead woman's husbands.

177 The fire is now extinguished by pouring on water
765 (*kêdr tüt ârs kudrchi*). Some of the food put into the pocket of the *putkuli* and in the various vessels may now be taken out[1] and given to the Kotas, who up to this time have been playing the special funeral tunes called *sagerthkwelv*.

765 The ashes are now swept into the hole which had been dug at the opening in the stone circle. They are covered with earth dug from elsewhere and the spot is covered with a stone.

At the funeral of a male, a man of the same clan as the deceased then brings a bell (*kwungg*) and goes round the

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[1] This would seem to indicate that when the fire is extinguished, the objects burnt with the relics are far from being consumed by the fire.

adornment of the body. Each relative gives a waist- 764
string called *pennar*, made of black and white thread, which 431
is put round the body of the corpse. That given by a
*mannokh* is exceptionally honoured in that it is tied round 602
the body inside the mantle together with that given by the son of the deceased, those given by other relatives being put outside the mantle.

Many of the necessaries for the funerals are provided by the 177
Kotas. The part they take as the musicians has been already
mentioned. In addition they provide for the first funeral the 764
cloak (*putkuli*) in which the body is wrapped, and grain (*patm* or *semai*) to the amount of five to ten *kwa*. They give one or two rupees towards the expenses, and if they should have no grain their contribution of money is increased.

At the *marvainolkedr* their contributions are more extensive. They provide the *putkuli*, together with a sum of eight annas for the decoration of the cloak by the Toda women. They give two to five rupees towards the general expenses and provide the bow and arrow, basket (*tek*), knife (*kafkati*), and the sieve called *kudshmurn*. The Kotas receive at each funeral the bodies of the slaughtered buffaloes, and are also usually given food. The method by which these contributions from the Kotas to the Todas are regulated will be considered in Chapter XXVII.

## AMNÒDR.

Amnòdr[1] is the other world of the Todas to which the dead 772
go. It lies to the west and is lighted by the same sun as this 775
world. The sun goes there when it sinks to the west so that when it is dark on the Nilgiris it is light in Amnòdr, and when it is dark in Amnòdr it is light on the Nilgiris. When Kwoto tied down the sun it was dark in both worlds and the people of Amnòdr complained (see p. 206) and joined with those of this world in the request that the sun should be restored to its proper place. Amnòdr is considered to be below this world,

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[1] This may possibly be the world of Yama, the Todas rarely, if ever, using the the letter y. The word was often pronounced Amanòdr.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

### BELLS

778 These are the most sacred of the sacred objects of the Todas. It is necessary, however, to distinguish three kinds

177 of bells, the *mani*, the *tukulir mani*, and the *kwungg*, and it is

534 only the first of these which has any great sanctity.

The *tukulir mani* is only used in the *koòtiti* ceremony of the second funeral (p. 376), and between these occasions is kept by the Badagas or Kotas. I am doubtful whether it is a true Toda object, and suspect that it is a Badaga or Kota bell which is used in a ceremony borrowed by the Todas from one or other of these peoples.

The *kwungg* is the household bell and is kept in the hut. It is used in the funeral ceremonies on two occasions, being hung on the neck of one of the ordinary buffaloes before the animal is killed, and it is also the bell which is rung in the final scene of the *azaramkedr*. The bell may be touched or carried by women, and I have seen a *kwungg* removed from the neck of a slaughtered buffalo by a Kota who handed it to a woman. Though the bell is used in ceremonial, the fact that it may be touched by both Kotas and women shows clearly that it is not regarded as possessing any sanctity whatever. In general appearance, however, the *kwungg* probably differs little from the *mani*, being a large bell of the same oblong shape which is characteristic of cattle-bells.

778 The *mani* is a bell which, so far as I could ascertain, never

534 has a tongue, though this loss may be nothing more than a sign of its antiquity.

There are several kinds of *mani*. At the *ti* dairy there are two distinct varieties: the *mani* proper which is kept in the inner room and is hung on the neck of a chosen calf of the *persinir* on the occasion of the migration ceremonies, and the *kudrsmani* which is kept outside the door of the dairy. The latter appear to have little sanctity, but the former are probably the most sacred of Toda objects of veneration. They are said to be extremely ancient; some are reputed to have come from Amnòdr, and others are believed to have had miraculous origins, one having been born in a vessel of milk

Only on one point is it clear that the Todas make no direct 234
gain from their buffaloes. When once a buffalo is dead, the 177
Todas seek no further profit, and the carcases become the
property of the Kotas. But even here there is an indirect 437
gain, for the bodies of the buffaloes form a large part of the equivalent received by the Kotas for the many services they render to the Todas.

## OTHER ANIMALS

The Todas have so highly developed the cult of one animal 773
that they show few traces of belief in the sanctity of others. 778
I will put together here the whole of the scanty evidence
which I possess concerning their relations with animals in 825
general.

*The Tiger.*—The Todas have a legend that at one time the tiger used to watch over the buffaloes for them during the day and hand over his charge in the evening. One day the tiger was very hungry and its hunger made it angry. When it brought the buffaloes back to the village it saw a cat catching a rat. Then the tiger asked the cat for some of the flesh, but the cat said, "There is no fool like you; why don't you eat some of the buffaloes you look after?" At that time the tiger usually slept at the village, but on this evening it went into the wood and at midnight came slowly back and took one of the buffaloes out of the pen, and since then it has always done this.

According to another legend (see p. 185), buffaloes have been killed by tigers ever since the *arsaiir* of the Kwòdrdoni *ti* failed to come to the general gathering which assembled to bid farewell to Ön when he went to rule over Amnòdr.

Jervis[1] states that the natives of the hills salaam to the tiger. He does not say definitely that it is the Todas who do this, but it is probable that he is referring to them. He also states that the women of the village throw themselves on their knees before a tiger which has been killed, and touch his bristles with their foreheads. I do not know whether these practices are still followed.

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[1] Falls of the Cavery, 1834, p. 49.

they reached the Nilgiris, though it is, of course, possible 778
that it might have been chosen on account of its resemblance 824
to some tree sacred in their past history. The tree has, however, a wide distribution in India.

Pope has suggested that *tudr* is connected with *tulasi*, *Ocymum sanctum* or holy basil. This is a small flowering plant, and it is improbable that there is any connexion between the two plants except a resemblance in name.

Another tree which appears to be especially sacred is the *kiaz* tree (*Litsæa Wightiana*). Whenever a tree is used to mark the spot where the *mani* is laid during purificatory and other ceremonies, the tree must be of this kind. The wood of this tree is used when making fire for most sacred purposes.

The leaves of trees and shrubs are used in various branches of the dairy ritual. Those in most frequent use are various kinds called generically by the Todas *muli*, three of which belong to the genus Rubus. The young shoots of the same plants are used in the ordination ceremonies.

Grasses are also used in Toda ceremonial, and one of these, a slender grass called *kakar* (*Eragrostica nigra*) is used on several occasions, those of especial importance being the ordination of the Teivali *palikartmokh* and the sweeping of the threshold of the dairy by a girl at the migration ceremony. The same grass is also used in one of the methods adopted to promote speedy delivery in childbirth.

Of the various kinds of grain used by the Todas, that 824
called *patm* or *samai* (*Panicum miliare*) seems to be in most 177
frequent use in connexion with ceremonial, but it cannot be said to be sacred in any way. Barley (*kodj*) seems to have a peculiar place in Toda belief. The *tòratthadi* or cooking-vessel of the dairy may not be used for this grain, although any other kind may be boiled in it. On the other hand, three grains of barley are put into the mouth and three into the hair of a boy at the naming ceremony. In explanation I can only offer the surmise that barley is not cooked in the dairy vessel because its use by the Todas is an innovation, and that similarly the use of barley in the naming ceremony is also an innovation borrowed from the Badagas or some other tribe.

In the process of divination men are possessed by gods; 776
and another example of possession by the gods may be 234
mentioned here, as I have not found a suitable place for it elsewhere. If any of the gods should sit on the back of a buffalo, the animal will go to the hill called Kûrâtvan, near Neduvattam, and this is said to have happened to two buffaloes in recent times. A buffalo which goes to this hill is allowed to find its own way back, and, provided the buffalo goes only to *etudmad*, its course will not be interfered with. One of the two buffaloes above-mentioned travelled back by way of Taradr, a place called Panmtu, Nòdrs, Miuni, and then went to its own village.

In the chapter on divination I have pointed out that many 776
of the deities who inspire the diviners are not true Toda gods, 787
and this suggests that the practice of divination may have
been borrowed from surrounding peoples, in which case 177
caution would be needed in drawing conclusions from the beliefs associated with the practice. I believe, however, that the information given to me on this point is based on recent utterances of the *teuol* themselves when in a state of frenzy. Each *teuol* was asked by whom he was inspired, and I think it not unlikely that the answers were influenced by the recent associations of the Todas.

At the present time none of the gods are ever seen by 776
mortals. As we have already found, the hills where they are 778
supposed to dwell are, in some cases, regarded with reverence;
but I obtained no evidence that the Todas avoid the summits 823
even of those hills where the most important deities are supposed to be, though unfortunately I omitted to put this to the test by asking any of the more scrupulous Todas to accompany me to these places. The god-inhabited hills, however, are, in most cases, the sites of cairns and barrows, and the whole experience of those who have excavated these sites seems to show that the Todas exhibit no special reluctance to visit these dwelling-places of the gods.

I think that there can be little doubt that most of the individual gods of the Todas are becoming very unreal beings to 776
those who talk of them. The stories of the earlier gods are now being forgotten, and the ideas of the Todas about them are

is regarded as the ruler of this world; she is mentioned 771
in many of the sacred formulæ, and of the occasional 776
*kwarzam* uttered by the Todas on various occasions by far the most frequent are those of Teikirzi Tirshti.

Teikirzi is undoubtedly the most important Toda deity, and yet she is not so pre-eminent that she can be said to be in any way a supreme god. Though she is the ruler of this world, it is Ön who rules the world of the dead.

### INFLUENCE OF OTHER RELIGIOUS SYSTEMS

The Todas show undoubted signs of the influence of 177
Hinduism on their religion. It would be quite easy for a 771
visitor to the Todas to talk to some of the younger and more 776
sophisticated men and to go away believing that the Todas differed little from the surrounding tribes in their religious beliefs. In my first conversation with the Todas on religious matters I was told that they worshipped the following six gods:—Nanjandisparan, whose temple is at Nanjankudi in Mysore; Petkon or Betakarasami, whose temple is at Gudalur; Punilibagewan, whose temple is called Punilikudi and is near Cheirambadi; Mari, a female deity, with a temple called Marikudi near Pokapparam; Magòli, another female deity, with a temple near Kodanad on the Nilgiris, and Karmudrangan,[1] whose temple is near Mettapollayam.

Four or five of these gods are probably Hindu deities, 776
while Magòli may be a deity of the Kurumbas or Irulas. At 782
the present time there is no doubt that their temples are 842
visited by the Todas and offerings made to them. The most frequent motive for these offerings appears to be the desire for children. The Todas now pray to these gods, most commonly for this purpose to Nanjandisparan, Magòli or Karmudrangan, and if a child is born it is taken when one year old to the temple, its head is shaved, and an offering, usually in the form of an image of the child, given to the priest. Rice is also given, sufficient, it is said, to feed 101 men, and the proceedings are said to cost the Todas
from 40 to 100 rupees.

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[1] These were the names given to me by the Todas, and their spelling may not correspond with that in ordinary use.

776 from 40 to 100 rupees. They have a rule that, however
782 much money they take away with them from their villages,
all must be spent and none brought back.

If the Todas wish to obtain more buffaloes they offer silver images of these animals to the temples.

177 I do not know how long these Hindu gods have been
776 worshipped by the Todas, but my informants were emphatic
that Nanjandisparan and Petkon had been worshipped by the
782 Todas for very long, and that annual offerings of small sums
771 were made to them by every Toda family.

This worship and appeal to Hindu deities appears to me to have gone on side by side with the proper religion of the Todas, but to have influenced it little. It shows how people of low culture make use of the gods of other races as well as of their own, and in the same way I believe that the Todas reverence the gods of Badagas, Kurumbas, or any other of the tribes with which they have dealings, and if asked point-blank if the gods of these people are their gods they will assent.

It is probable that Hinduism is now having more influence on the Todas than ever before, and, as I have already pointed out, I believe that the reverence to Swami and the frequent utterance of his name is a sign of the increasing influence of Hinduism, perhaps combined with that of Christianity.

177 Christianity has so far had no appreciable influence. The
777 Church Missionary Zenana Society has for some years
employed two catechists to work among the Todas, and one
771 of them, Samuel, who by the kindness of the Society was
allowed to act as my interpreter for a large part of my stay, ought to have been successful if earnestness and honesty are of any avail, but his efforts, carried on for ten years, had borne very little fruit.

In the whole of the mythology and ceremonial there are few features which suggest the probability of Christian influence, and the chief of these is the incident in the legend of the origin of mankind where woman is created from a rib taken from the right side of a man. It is very unlikely that this is a recent accretion to the legend, and, if it is due to Christian influence, I think it must have arisen long ago. We

know that, three centuries ago, priests visited the Todas and 177
preached to them, and it is stated (see p. 720) that one chose 771
the Hebrew story of the creation for his lesson, and it may 797
be that the incident, striking the fancy of the people, was incorporated into their own tradition of the origin of man. The resemblance between the Toda *madnol* and the Sabbath may also excite the suspicion that the former institution is founded on ideas borrowed from Christians or Jews. I think we may be confident that, if this has been the case, the borrowing took place very long ago. I hope to show in the last chapter that it is probable the Todas came from Malabar, and it is possible that their migration to the hills took place after the settlement of Christians or Jews in that district. If Christianity has affected the religious beliefs or practices of the general body of the Todas, I think it is certain that this influence has not been recent.

## MAGIC AND RELIGION

A word may be added, at the end of this chapter, on the 771
relation between the magic and the religion of the Todas. 789
I have already pointed out reasons for believing that the Toda religion is one in process of degeneration, and we must not therefore expect to find among this people material for the study of the evolution of religion from magic or for the method of divergence of the two from some original stem which was neither magic nor religion.

The chief interest of the Todas from this point of view is that they show how side by side with a relatively high form of religion there may exist a body of beliefs crystallised in magical formulæ which bear a very close resemblance to the formulæ of the religious ritual. Their aim and their general nature leave no doubt that the formulæ given in the later part of Chap. XII are magical in nature, and yet they show more distinct evidence of appeal to deities than is to be found in the definitely religious formulæ of the dairy. These magical formulæ of the Todas seem to show us a stage of magic in which religion has been called

any conclusions about the last generation very inconclusive, 161
but since the record for very young children is certainly
defective, and since many families now existing will certainly 162
increase in size, it is probable that any progressive decrease
in the size of a family has now been arrested, and the details
of the genealogical record would therefore agree with the
Census Reports in showing the presence of a distinct tendency
of the Toda population to increase.

None of the previous records have given any indication of 162
the numbers of the two chief divisions of the Toda people.
According to my genealogical records, there were living,
in 1902, 528 Tartharol and 208 Teivaliol. The defects in
my record are probably somewhat greater for the Teivaliol
than for the Tartharol, but any difference there may be is
certainly not great, and I think we may conclude that, though
these figures are not accurate, they represent approximately
the true proportion of the numbers of the two divisions. It
is quite certain that the Tartharol are more than twice as
numerous as the Teivaliol. Mr. Punnett's table does not show
any great difference between the two divisions in the average
size of the family, so that the proportion between the numbers
of the two divisions has probably not altered during the
period covered by the genealogical record. It is probable
that the Teivaliol have always or for a very long time been
the smaller division.

The Census Reports and the genealogical record then agree 161
in pointing to a diminution of the Toda population about the
middle of last century which has now ceased, the probability 177
being that the Todas are increasing slightly in numbers. 164

There can be little doubt that any decrease in the Toda population about the middle of last century was the direct result of the changes brought about by the advent of Europeans to the Nilgiri Hills. The adverse influences which came into the lives of the Todas probably owe their origin to the large immigration of native servants and to the development of the bazaar. Though Europeans first began to come to the Nilgiri Hills about 1820, it was not till twenty or thirty years later that they arrived in any considerable numbers, so that it was probably the middle of the century

161
177 before the injurious influences made their effects felt to any
great effect.

164 The especial influences injurious to fertility have probably
842 been syphilis and sexual immorality, for the Todas do not
appear to have fallen to any very great extent under the
[273] influence of alcohol or opium. They certainly take both, and especially after the market day at the Ootacamund bazaar, I have seen Todas obviously under the influence of drink; but I believe this to have been only an influence of minor importance on the health of the people. Syphilis, on the other hand, has undoubtedly affected them to a considerable extent. At the present time its ravages are not very obvious, though, without looking for it especially, I saw several examples of its effects. There can be little doubt, however, that it has been a potent factor in the past. In a note in a book by A. C. Burnell,[1] it is mentioned that in 1871 thirty-one Todas were treated at Ootacamund for venereal disease, and of these thirty were syphilitic. This means that in one year over 4 per cent. of the total Toda population were treated for syphilis at one place, and we may be fairly confident that all those suffering from the disease did not apply for treatment.

831 Another factor working towards the diminution of the
population has probably been sexual immorality. I shall
842 have to return to this subject again later, and must be content here to point out that the Toda women have a very bad reputation, though perhaps their laxity is not as great as is usually supposed. Still, there can be little doubt that the women of some villages are extremely immoral, and it is probable that this has distinctly tended to produce sterility.

162 If the diminution in the size of the Toda family is due to
these adverse influences, it should be found to be greatest in
177 those sections of the Toda community which have been most
842 subject to these influences. The best way of throwing light on this question is to compare the fertility of the different clans of the Tartharol. Some of these, such as Nòdrs, Pan, Taradr, and Kanòdrs, either live in outlying parts of the hills or are sufficiently remote from the chief centres of the European population not to have been influenced very greatly.

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[1] *Specimens of South Indian Dialects*, Mangalore, 1873.

The chief village of the Kars clan is situated close to Ootacamund and has suffered greatly from its neighbours, but many of the villages of the clan are more remote, so that the clan may be put down as one partly influenced. The people of Päm and Nidrsi, on the other hand, are more influenced than any other of the Toda clans, as is shown by the alterations in their villages and the neglect of the ritual of their religion. The villages of the Pämol are, or were, near to Wellington Barracks, and it is certainly the most degenerated of all the Toda clans. The following table, taken from Mr. Punnett's paper, shows the average size of the family in each case, and though the figures are somewhat irregular, they bear out the view that sterility is greater the more the people have come into contact with Europeans and their followers. 162 177 842

| Name of clan. | No. of families. | No. of offspring. | Average size of family. | Average size of family for group. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nòdrs (uninfluenced) | 14 | 54 | 3·84 | 3·59 |
| Pan | 8 | 21 | 2·37 | |
| Taradr | 9 | 43 | 4·77 | |
| Kanòdrs | 11 | 33 | 3·00 | |
| Kars (partly influenced) | 25 | 76 | 3·04 | 3·04 |
| Päm (much influenced) | 10 | 22 | 2·20 | 2·60 |
| Nidrsi | 10 | 30 | 3·00 | |

## PROPORTION OF THE SEXES

The records of the Toda population in the past all show an excess of men over women, and with the exception of the record of Ouchterlony, which is certainly untrustworthy, the excess is considerable. In view of their untrustworthiness no importance can be attached to the records taken earlier than that of 1866, and in the report for that year I have been unable to ascertain the proportions of the sexes. In 1871 there were 140·6 men for every 100 women; in 1881, 130·4 for every 100; in 1891, 135·9, and in the census of 1901, 127·4 men for every 100 women. My figures, derived from the 161 162

161 genealogical record, give for 1902, 132·2 men for every 100
162 women, a proportion distinctly greater than that of the
census, which suggests that it is in the female portion of the
community that my records are most defective.

In the table on p. 474 taken from Mr. Punnett's paper, it is seen that the data derived from the genealogical record agree with those of the Census Reports in showing on the whole a progressive decrease in the excess of men over women. The number of families in the first group is too small to give them much importance, but for the three succeeding generations of the Tartharol, the numbers of males for every 100 females are 159·7, 131·4, and 129·2, while for the Teivaliol the figures are 259, 202, and 171 respectively.

The Census Reports and the genealogical record thus agree in showing a progressive diminution in the excess of men over women.

178 There can be little doubt as to the cause of this. All
847 accounts of the Todas agree in attributing to them the
practice of female infanticide, though, at the present time,
124 the Todas are very chary of acknowledging the existence
521 of the practice. They deny it absolutely for the present,
and they are reluctant to speak about it for the past.

I do not think that there is the slightest doubt that it was at one time very prevalent, and that it has greatly diminished in frequency, but that it is still practised to some extent. The chance remarks of children to my interpreter, Samuel, had shown him that the practice is still followed occasionally, and I think it far from unlikely that it is even now not a very rare occurrence.

162 In Mr. Punnett's table, it will be seen that the genealogical
data show that the excess of men is far greater in the
177 Teivaliol than in the Tartharol, and the excess in the former
184 is so great as to leave little doubt that the practice is still
847 followed in this division not infrequently. If this is so, it is
probably due to the fact that the Teivaliol chiefly inhabit the
more outlying parts of the hills, so that, on the whole, they
have been less affected than the Tartharol by the various
influences which have come into the lives of the Todas. An

In some families marriages between *matchuni* in the near sense occur much more frequently than in others. Thus out of the forty *matchuni* marriages among the Tartharol, the husband or wife belonged to the Taradrol in fifteen cases, and in one large Taradr family, that of Parkeidi (21), six out of eight children married their *matchuni* in the near sense. It is perhaps significant in this connexion that the Taradrol have been comparatively little affected by outside influences. They are a clan which might be expected to keep up the orthodox Toda custom. 177 582

Another example of a family in which the orthodox marriage custom has been frequently followed is that of Table 52, where there may be found eight cases of the marriage of *matchuni* in the near sense, and several others where the *matchuni* relationship is more distant. 582

In some cases marriages have taken place between the children of *matchuni*. Thus the marriage of Uvolthli (15) with Sinmundeivi (20) among the Tartharol, and of Pangudr (66) with Nelbur (54) and Kanokh (56) with Sanmidz (63) among the Teivaliol, are all cases in which marriages have taken place between the children of two men who called one another *matchuni*. There may be other cases, but these examples are perhaps sufficient to show that these marriages may be held to take the place of the orthodox *matchuni* union.

While marriages between *matchuni* are the rule and marriages between the children of *matchuni* certainly not unlawful, we have seen that marriage with the child of a *matchuni* is prohibited. From our point of view, this means that while marriage with a first cousin is orthodox, marriage with a first cousin once removed is unlawful, while again it seems that marriage with a first cousin twice removed may be lawful. The more distant tie of kinship from our point of view is unlawful, while the nearer is commanded.

Marriage with a *matchuni* may often involve considerable disproportion of age. In one case at the present time a boy of about two years of age is married to a woman of about twenty. The woman, Nulnir (10), was still unmarried when she reached this age, so she was married to her *matchuni*,

At the present time the custom of *tererstlhi* has a far wider 183
range. It is obvious that when a widower takes the wife of 586
another he is simply transferring his difficulty, and the man 587
whose wife he has taken will have to seek a new partner. It often happens that a man takes the wife of a boy married, perhaps, to a girl of about the same age as himself, and when this boy reaches manhood he will have to seek a wife and will naturally try to obtain the wife of another rather than be content with a child perhaps only three or four years of age.
It would be impossible that such a custom as that of *tererstlhi* [662]
should remain limited in scope, but there is no doubt that at the present day it has become the custom for any man who takes a fancy for the wife of another to endeavour to obtain her for himself, and I was told that he would give large bribes to the elders of the Todas to attain his object. It seems quite clear that, at the present time, it is not considered necessary to obtain the consent either of the wife or of the husband, and in some cases the wife has been taken from her husband by force.[1]

In some recent cases the aggrieved parties in such disputes [177
have appealed to the Government, and during my visit a 691]
petition was being drawn up for presentation to the Governor of Madras, asking that the abuses of the *tererstlhi* custom should be remedied.

## DIVORCE

Divorce exists among the Todas quite apart from the trans- 586
ference of wives just considered.

I was told that a man divorces his wife for two reasons, and for two only, the first reason being that the wife is a fool and the second that she will not work. Barrenness is not generally regarded as a reason for divorce, though I was told of one case in which a man had sent away his wife on this account. It seemed more usual in such a case to take a second wife. In some cases the illness of the husband has been regarded as a ground for divorce. Intercourse between

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[1] For an instance see p. 535.

181 831 Mr. Punnett has suggested elsewhere,[1] a reason why polyandry is so rare a form of marriage. The practice of polyandry must almost inevitably weaken the sentiment of possession on the part of the man which does so much to maintain the more ordinary forms of marriage.

[177] The low sexual morality of the Todas is not, however, limited in its scope to the relations within the Toda community. Conflicting views are held by those who know the Nilgiri Hills as to the relations of the Todas with the other inhabitants, and especially with the train of natives which the European immigration to the hills has brought in its wake. The general opinion on the hills is that in this respect the morality of the Todas is as low as it well could be, but it is a question whether this opinion is not too much based on the behaviour of the inhabitants of one or two villages near the European settlements, and I think it is probable that the larger part of the Todas remain more uncontaminated than is generally supposed.

[144] That the Todas are perhaps not so black as they are painted is suggested by two considerations. There is little evidence of the existence of many half-breeds. I examined in one way or another over 500 Todas and must have seen nearly the whole of the 800 people who form the Toda population. I saw few who suggested Tamil or Badaga intermixture and only one boy whose appearance suggested European parentage. A more careful examination than I gave might, however, have revealed other suspicious cases, and perhaps in a race which practices infanticide the absence or paucity of half-breeds may not carry much weight.

The other consideration is of a different kind and tends to show not only that the Todas are not so black as they are painted, but that they are not so black as they paint themselves.

143 831 By means of the genealogical record I was able to work out the relationship to one another of forty-three individuals suffering from colour-blindness. Since this condition runs mainly in the female line, it does not afford very cogent evidence of paternity; but a full examination of my records

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[1] *Loc. cit.*

still in use. Thus the people of Pirspurs have now become 618
the Pämol and the Kusharfol are often named after Umgas, 621
a village in more frequent use than Kusharf. In general the
villages belonging to a clan are situated in the same part 361
of the hills, but a clan often possesses outlying villages at a considerable distance from the chief group. Sometimes these outlying villages are of comparatively recent origin, and in other cases they have been established on account of grazing necessities; thus several clans which have their chief seats near Ootacamund have villages in the Kundahs or in the district near Makurti Peak, which are visited in the dry season.

The members of a clan have many common rights and 618
privileges which bind them together, so that the clan-tie has
a very real meaning. Property, however, as we shall see 178
shortly, is largely centred in the family or the individual, and the Todas are in a state of social evolution in which the common bond constituted by membership of the clan has been largely replaced by the bond constituted by the family. They are in an intermediate condition between the state of society in which the clan is the social unit and that in which the family has taken this position.

Nearly all who have previously written about the Todas 101
have described them as divided into five clans—viz., the Peiki, 177
Pekkan, Kenna, Todi, or Tothi, and Kuttan. These are the 618
five divisions recognised by the Badagas, and a Badaga knows
each Toda as belonging to one of them. The Todas are also 616
perfectly acquainted with these divisions, and they could always say, if asked, to which of them a given village or a given man belonged. If a Toda is asked by a European to which clan or division he belongs, he will probably give one of these names, but I do not believe that they are in use among themselves, being reserved for their intercourse with Badagas and other Indian castes and with Europeans.

The Peiki of the Badaga classification are the Teivaliol; the Pekkan correspond to the Melgarsol, the people of Kidmad and Karsh being also usually included in this group. Kenna is the Badaga name of the Karsol; the Todi or Tothi include two clans, the Nòdrsol and the Panol, while the Kuttan com-

101 177 618 616 prise the remainder of the Tarthar clans—viz., those of Taradr, Keradr, Kanòdrs, Kwòdrdoni, Päm and Nidrsi. I could obtain no direct information from the Todas which would explain why the Badaga classification should differ from their own. It is possible that it is an old classification of the Todas, but this is unlikely, since it is probable that the intercourse with the Badagas is not very ancient. It seems to me possible that it may have arisen out of the constitution of the *naim* or council. This has four Toda representatives belonging to Kuudr (representing the Teivaliol), Kars, Nòdrs and Taradr. This would correspond to four of the Badaga divisions, and the fifth, the Melgarsol or Pekkan, would certainly be well known to the Badagas through their privileges as *mòrol.* It is possible that the Nòdrs representative used also to represent Pan, and that the Taradr member represented the remaining clans, and, if so, it would point to there having been some old five-fold division of the kind believed in by the Badagas. It is quite clear that the five-fold division has no influence on the marriage regulations and Peiki, Todi and Kuttan all marry freely within their divisions. Except in connexion with the *naim,* I could learn of nothing which would show that the five-fold division has any social significance, and I know of no other way in which the Panol are associated with the Nòdrsol nor of any other way in which the six clans included in the Kuttan are associated together. It is possible that the five-fold division is connected with some customs regulating the payment of the Badaga tribute to the Todas, but I could learn nothing of such customs.

618 Each clan has divisions of two kinds called *kudr* and *pòlm.* The *kudr* is a division of ceremonial, the *pòlm* of practical, importance.

## THE KUDR

Normally each clan has two *kudr* and two only, and, as we have seen in Chapter XIII, these divisions become of the greatest importance in connexion with the *irnörtiti* ceremony, the whole regulation of which is dominated by the division into *kudr.* So far as I could ascertain, the *kudr* has now no

842 hope of having a son, one of the brothers had recently
618 married a young girl, Obalidz, as his third wife, the others being still alive, though one had been taken by another man.

## GOVERNMENT

623 The most important feature of Toda government is the *naim*, or *noim*,[1] a council having a definite constitution. The
627 *naim* proper has to do with the affairs of the Todas in general, and, in addition, more informal councils,[2] consisting of the chief members of a clan, may be held to settle matters arising within the clan. It seems, however, that the supreme *naim* may sometimes be called upon to settle the internal affairs of a clan.

623 The *naim* of the general body of Todas should have five
177 members, or, if more than five members, they should be drawn from five sources. Four of these sources are the Tarthar clans of Kars, Nòdrs, and Taradr, and the Teivali clan of Kuudr. The fifth source is the Badaga village of Tuneri, from which a Badaga man may be sent to take part in the *naim*. He is only called upon to sit, however, on special occasions; and in the many councils which I saw during my visit a Badaga was rarely present. He probably only sits, as a rule, when questions arise which involve the relations between the Todas and Badagas.

623 The Toda representatives should be drawn from certain families of their respective clans. The Kuudr representative should belong to the family known as the *manikudupel*, and the representatives of Kars, Nòdrs, and Taradr to the families known as *tinkanikudupel*. A few years ago the Toda representatives were Kuriolv of Kuudr (52), Parkurs (8) and Piutolvan (10) of Kars, Kudòdrsvan (3) of Nòdrs, and Ircheidi (20) of Taradr, though there was some question whether Ircheidi was on the *naim*, or whether his place had not been taken by Piutolvan, the second Kars representative. All these men are at present living, but, with the exception of

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[1] A meeting of the council is often spoken of as *kûtkûdriti*, "the assembly assembles," or *kûtpuniti*, "the assembly makes."

[2] It seemed clear that the term *naim* is also applied to these clan councils.

674 doubtful whether crime can be said to exist among the
Todas.

Acts such as infanticide are committed which would be
regarded as crimes by others, but since these are the outcome
of custom they are not crimes from the Toda point of view.
673 Again, we have seen that the Todas have a code of offences
against the dairy, but these must be regarded as sins rather
than as crimes, for they are neither investigated nor punished
by the civil authority, the *naim*, but are punished directly by
the gods, and the various ceremonies described in Chapter XIII
are expiatory and not punitive.

578 The list of offences given on p. 295 includes quarrelling
between people of the same clan at a festival and quarrelling
673 in the dairy. In both cases the quarrelling is an offence
623 against the dairy, and I have no information to show whether
quarrels ever lead to acts of violence which might in other
671 places become the subject of criminal investigation. So
far as I could learn, any investigation by the *naim* would
only deal with the causes which had led to the quarrel; it
would deal only with the civil and not with the criminal
aspect of the case.

583 Again, the custom of *tererstlhi*, or transference of wives, which
is the chief subject of the deliberations of the *naim*, some-
586 times leads to acts of violence. A woman who has been
674 transferred by the *naim* from one man to another may be
177 carried off by force from the home of the former, but,
however such an act may be regarded from our standpoint, it
is not a crime from the Toda point of view, but merely the
carrying out of the decision of the judicial authority. So
many Todas are, however, discovering that such an act is
regarded as a crime by Europeans that there will probably
soon come about a state of public opinion which will regard
such abduction as a crime, and possibly the same idea may
become attached to the whole custom of transference of a
woman from one man to another unwillingly. It seemed not
unlikely at the time of my visit that this conversion of a
custom into a crime might be assisted by the action of the
Government.

000 In the legend of Kwoten, this hero kills Parden, but so far

In the legend of Kwoten, this hero kills Parden, but so far
as I know this is the only example of murder, either legendary 773
or historical, among the Todas. The Todas may take part 674
in the murder of a Kurumba who has been working magic,
but this is of course no crime from the Toda point of view, 609
but an obvious method of self-defence, for it is believed that 754
the only way of stopping Kurumba sorcery is to kill the
sorcerer.

With the exception of the occurrences accompanying the 674
transference of wives, which I have already considered, I
heard of no case of assault by one Toda on another.

Similarly, I heard of no offence against property except 673
in connexion with the dairy. So far as I know, ornaments
or clothing are never stolen. In the list of offences against 688
the dairy, stealing ghi is included, but it was clear that this
is regarded as sacrilege, as an offence against the dairy and
not as an offence committed against the individual.

## SUICIDE

In the legend of Kwoten there is a record of suicide by 173
strangling, and since the suicide of Erten and his confederates 762
this is said to have been a recognised custom among the
Todas. Several instances have occurred in recent times; thus, 152
about four generations ago, at a village called Podzkwar, near
Taradrkirsi, a woman and her husband had a dispute and the
woman strangled herself. About three generations ago a man
strangled himself in the dairy at Melgars, and when a Toda
is very angry he will threaten to commit suicide, saying "*on
mēdr kati kēdraividikin*"—"my neck tying, I will die."

Another way of committing suicide, said to have been 177
borrowed from the Badagas, is that of taking opium. There 276
has been a recent case of suicide, by this means, and when
angry, a Toda sometimes says, "*mud tid kēdraividikin*"— 762
"Opium eating, I will die."

## THE MONEGAR

The Todas have a *monegar*, or headman, who is responsible 622
for the assessment which the Todas pay to Government for
their grazing rights, &c. (see below).

622 The earliest *monegar* whom the Todas remember is Teitchi or Teiti (52). He was succeeded by his fourth son, Mutevan, who is still alive. The two eldest sons had died before their father, and Persevan, the third son, was said to be weak-minded, and Mutevan was therefore chosen to succeed.

Mutevan is now a very old man, probably about eighty years of age, and his office was taken over some years ago by his eldest son, Ivievan. Though Ivievan is the *monegar* he is not the chief representative of his family on the *naim*, this position belonging to Kuriolv, the son of Pareivan and Persevan. Ivievan is helped in collecting the assessment by an assistant *monegar*, and till lately this place belonged to Parkurs of Kars.

177 It does not appear that the monegarship is a real Toda
office, but that the earliest *monegar* was appointed by Mr.
622 Sullivan, the first British official of the Nilgiris. The family,
554 however, to which the *monegar* belongs is called the *mani-kudupel*, which may mean the *monegar* family, but I could not discover definitely whether this title is older than the institution of the monegarship. It is possible that Teitchi was one of the chief men of the *naim* when the Europeans first came to the hills and that he was therefore appointed as *monegar*.

It is quite clear that at the present time the *monegar*, Ivievan, is not the most important man among the Todas, but that the predominant position belongs to his cousin, Kuriolv, the representative of the family on the *naim*.

## HEADMEN

618 Though it is very doubtful whether the institution of *monegar* is not an innovation, and whether the Todas as a whole have properly any true chief, it is fairly clear that the clan and its divisions have definite leaders.

Each clan has a headman or *etudol*; usually, it seemed to me, one who had come to the top by virtue of his character and ability. I did not learn how far his position was generally recognised nor by what means he was chosen. It was quite clear, however, that the leading man of a clan

might lose his position in old age or as the result of illness, 618
and at the time of my visit there were several men who had been the heads of their clans but no longer occupied those positions.

Similarly, as we have seen, both *kudr* and *pòlm* have their leading men, who give their names to the divisions and are probably responsible for the conduct of their business.

### PROPERTY

Among the Todas, property may be held by the clan, the 421
family or the individual. I am not clear whether there is any 618
case in which property is held to belong to the Todas as a
whole, or to either of the two divisions. There were two 621
villages, Padegar and Ki Perththo, said to be common property, so that any one might live at them. At the time of my visit both were occupied by Melgars people, and I could not satisfy myself as to what was meant by saying that they were common property.

In general, land, the dairies of the chief villages, and some buffaloes may be said to be the property of the clan. The house, and probably also some villages, are the property of a family, and most buffaloes, household goods and ornaments are the property of the individual.

*Land.*—The relation of the Todas to the land has been a much 177
discussed theme, and for many years after the first settlement 421
of the hills by Europeans it was a subject of controversy.
The fact that the Badagas paid what seemed to be a tribute of 423
grain to the Todas was held to show that the latter were regarded as the "lords of the soil," and the view was strongly upheld that they should be so regarded by the Indian Government. The other view taken of the matter was that permanent rights in the soil throughout India belong to the State. The controversy[1] was not settled till 1843, when it was decided that the Todas should have the privilege of pasturing their herds on the State lands on payment of a small tax. At the present time the Todas receive an annual

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[1] For a full account of this controversy see the *Manual of the Nilagiri District*, by H. B. Grigg, Madras, 1880. See also Thurston, Bull. i. 182.

177 421 sum from the Government as compensation for land taken from them in Ootacamund and elsewhere.

423 578 Although the Todas have thus had much difficulty with the Government in relation to the ownership of land, it does not seem that they have trouble in this matter among themselves, and I heard of no disputes between members of different clans or different villages about grazing rights.

In the account of the marriage dispute between Punog and Nertiners (see p. 536) the former had evidently put many of his buffaloes in the charge of his brother-in-law for grazing purposes, but it was quite clear that no question of grazing rights came into this dispute. The buffaloes only came into the quarrel because Nertiners happened to have them in his charge when the marriage dispute arose.

I did not ascertain definitely how grazing rights between two clans or families are regulated, but I think it is quite clear that there is no individual ownership in land.

234 423 618 Certain dairies, and probably all the chief villages (*etudmad*), are regarded more or less as the property of the whole clan. There probably never arises any real question of ownership, but as regards the dairies, it was clear that any expenses incurred in the repair or rebuilding of a dairy fall on the whole clan, each *pòlm* of the clan contributing an equal share.[1]

The buffalo herds of the *ti* are also regarded as the property of the whole clan, but the rights of ownership are in these cases very shadowy. It does not appear that the owning clan derives any pecuniary benefit from its possession of the herd, while, on the other hand, the possession involves considerable expense, chiefly owing to certain feasts which have to be provided, and these expenses are given as the reason why certain of the sacred dairies are unoccupied. The people of the owning clan have, it is true, the right of choosing the *palol*, but as the choice is limited, and there is, in most cases, little competition for the office, this is a very empty honour.

423 595 *Houses.* Each house belongs to a certain family. The normal Toda family consists of a number of brothers with

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[358] [1] I am not clear on whom the expense of rebuilding and repairing a dairy would fall when the dairy is situated at a village occupied by one family only, and used exclusively for buffaloes which are the private property of that family.

# CHAPTER XXIV

## ARTS AND AMUSEMENTS

181 THE arts of life among the Todas are extremely simple.
234 The fact that their agriculture is done for them by the
Badagas and that all the objects they use in their daily life
177 are made for them by the Kotas leaves them free to devote
their whole attention to the care of the buffalo and the dairy.
This employment has acquired so ceremonial a character
that, having dealt with the ceremonies of the Todas, we find
little left to consider in connexion with the regulation of the
affairs of daily life.

161 The artistic side of life among the Todas is but little
531 developed. Their interest is so much absorbed in ceremony
that little is left for the development of art, even of a
primitive kind. The decorative arts are of the simplest and
are directed only to the adornment of the clothing or the
person, and even here we shall find that the methods of
wearing the clothes or the hair are quite as much influenced
by ceremonial as by æsthetic considerations. In their
amusements again we shall find that the influence of
ceremonial is so great, that many of the games are merely
imitations of ceremonial occupations.

821 I have included in this chapter an account of the ideas which are held about the heavenly bodies, the primitive astronomy of the people. To the Todas, though in a less degree than to many people of low culture, it is the sun, moon, and stars which are the chief objects of those observations and speculations which are the beginnings of science.

[765] this way by those who throw earth in the *puzhutpimi* ceremony
291 of each funeral.

The *tadrp* is a loincloth worn in the ordinary way, as shown by the first man in Fig. 61. The *tadrp* of a young child has a pocket called *terigs*, but I do not know whether this pocket also exists in the *tadrp* of an adult.

● 177 Both *putkuli* and *tadrp* are manufactured by Hindus,
291 probably in the Coimbatore district. Thirty years ago,
437 according to Breeks, the cloth was procured from weavers who came from Serumuge in Coimbatore, but at the present
531 time the garments are bought by the Todas at the bazaar.
463 When obtained by the Todas they have certain red and blue lines, and sometimes the Todas supplement this decoration by embroidery called *pukuru*, which is the work of the women, and a cloak so decorated is called *pukuruputkuli*. The decoration is shown in Figs. 1 and 9. Some women are especially expert at this work, and one woman who has recently had to change her name is now called Pukuruveli on account of her special skill.

291 The chief point of interest in connexion with the *kuvn* is the string by which it is supported. This string is called *pennar*, or "butter string," and forms a special contribution made by relatives, and especially the sister's son, at a funeral. Further, the string is of especial significance in the dairy ceremonial, where it is sometimes called *kerk*.

Both *putkuli* and *tadrp* are also worn by women. The garments are of the same kind as those of the men and are worn in the same ways.

292 The higher grades of dairymen wear garments called *tuni*,
177 made of a different material, a grey cloth, which has been said to be manufactured by the Badagas of Jakaneri, but is
437 probably only procured by their help. A cloak of similar material called *än* is, or should be, used to enwrap the bodies of the dead; and, as we have already seen, there is some reason to believe that garments of this material may have been the original clothing of the Todas, for in the legend of Kwoten, the wife of this hero wore a cloak of this kind.

000 The Todas themselves manufacture a special kind of

The Todas themselves manufacture a special kind of
287 material called *twadrinar* from the bark of a plant, and this
793 is largely used in the ordination ceremonies. In the ordina-
tion of a Teivali *palikartmokh*, it may take the place of the
292 *petuni*; at that of a *wursol*, *twadrinar* may be used as a girdle; and on the fourth day of the ordination ceremonies of the *palol*, the candidate manufactures and wears a rough *kuvn* made of this material. Its use in ceremony appears to be limited to the Teivaliol, and it is possible that it also is a survival in ceremony of clothing once in general use by this or both divisions of the Toda people.

● 177 Many of the older and more important Todas now wear
292 the turban called *madpdri*, but there is no doubt that this is an innovation. The Todas themselves sometimes speak of the Badagas as "they who wear the turban," and it seemed clear that the custom has been adopted in imitation of these people. Harkness and other of the earliest writers state that the Todas never wear any covering to the head, and there is little doubt that the practice has been adopted during the last century.

292 At the present time a man always removes his turban when
788 performing any act of reverence (see Fig. 10) and when crossing one of the sacred rivers.

292 Mr. Thurston mentions that on his first visit, the man whom
554 he chose as his guide adopted the turban in honour of his appointment, and my guide, Kodrner, although much younger than most of those who wore turbans, also adopted this custom when he was with me.

### METHODS OF WEARING THE HAIR

302 There are various methods of wearing the hair, each of which has its special significance. The ordinary method for men is to allow it to grow to a certain length, so that it forms a compact mass, as shown by the first man of Fig. 61, or as in Fig. 15.

302 When a member of a clan dies, all the men of the clan tie
765 their hair in knots in front till the funeral ceremonies are completed. This is called *mad tutvai*, "head (or hair) who

Little use is made by the Todas of pigments. The juice of 314
a fruit called *tipom*, which has a red colour, is sometimes used 302
to adorn the forehead, and another reddish juice from a fruit
called *puthimulpom*[1] is used for the same purpose. The 751
yellowish juice of the *pelkurthpom* is rubbed on the face, but 177
this was said to be done in frosty weather only, as a protection
against the cold. Ashes are now occasionally rubbed on the
face and head, especially by women at the ceremony of going
to the seclusion-hut after childbirth. The last is certainly a
recently borrowed custom, and I suspect the other adornments
just mentioned to be modern imitations of the forehead marks
of the Hindus.

## ORNAMENTS

The men usually wear silver rings on the fourth digit of 301
one or other hand. Often earrings are worn by the men and these are not uncommonly of gold. Harkness says that men sometimes wore chains of silver round the neck, but it is doubtful whether these are ever worn now. Formerly it seems that men used to wear far more solid rings, and one such ring is preserved which is said to have belonged to the hero or god Kwoten.

The ornaments of the women are more numerous and take the form of bracelets or bangles; armlets, often adorned with bunches of cowries; necklaces, sometimes made of silver coins; earrings; and a brass circlet worn round the waist. These ornaments are usually of brass or silver. At one time they seem to have been very massive, Breeks recording that a pair of brass armlets worn on one arm weighed six pounds. Formerly gold ornaments seem to have been commonly worn, and, so far as one can judge from older accounts and illustrations, it seems that Toda jewellery has greatly degenerated and is of a very paltry kind compared with that worn in the past.

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[1] This is the fruit of one of the plants (*Rubus lasiocarpus*) of which the leaves are used in the ordination ceremonies of the dairymen of Taradr and Kanòdrs.

produced by the evil eye. Their natural politeness also 264
makes the Todas uncomfortable when they see others eating, 576
and in the early part of my visit I sometimes dispersed a group surrounding me by taking sandwiches out of my pocket and beginning to eat.

I did not ascertain definitely who cooks among the Todas. 252
I had some reason to suppose that all the cooking is done
by the men and that the women have nothing to do with 462
this part of domestic economy, but I am not clear about this. It is possible that it is only food containing milk which must be cooked by the men.

The Todas are an example of a people who have no 273
native intoxicant, but they have now taken to alcoholic 177
drinks, though I do not believe that they indulge in these
habitually. The only occasions on which I saw Todas under 276
the influence of alcohol were when they were returning from the bazaar on market days. I was only once asked by a Toda for alcohol and then by a woman. Tobacco is now largely used and opium is certainly also used, though I do not believe that it is taken in excess. It may be employed, however, as a means of committing suicide.

## FIRE-MAKING

We have already seen that the fire used for several sacred 372
purposes must be made by friction with the fire-sticks. The method employed is a variety of the drill method shown in Figs. 65 and 37. In the former the *wursol* of Taradr is making fire in order to enable me to procure a photograph; the latter is the result of a snapshot taken when the fire was being produced during a ceremony. In the horizontal stick, which is held firmly by the foot, a hole is made for the insertion of the vertical stick, and in this a little charcoal is placed. A small groove is cut on one side to assist the falling of the spark on the tinder beneath. The vertical stick is inserted into the hole and twirled between the two hands. In the only case in which I saw fire produced by friction in a ceremony (Fig. 37), the continued efforts of the two old men were unavailing, and a third younger man was called upon,

## IMPLEMENTS AND UTENSILS.

The most important objects in the economic life of the 412
Todas are their dairy vessels, which have been already amply 415
considered. Cooking vessels and implements used for cutting 437
wood or for any other purpose are, like the vessels of the
village dairy, procured chiefly from the Kotas, though at the 177
present time the source of supply is probably supplemented
by purchases in the bazaar.

As the Todas practise few arts, their need of implements is very small. At one time they used thorns as needles, but now steel needles have taken their place. Thorns are also used for tattooing. Leaves are used as plates and cups, and the fingers take the place of forks. The only definite implements used are knives and axes, the latter being especially needed for procuring firewood.

In some of their ceremonies, the Todas have preserved 324
practices which may possibly be survivals of the use of stone 174
implements. In the funeral ceremonies the buffaloes destined
for the next world are killed with the back of an axe, but the 412
buffaloes killed at the *koòtiti* ceremony and at the ceremony 178
of purifying the funeral places must be killed with a stone.
Further, the bark of the *tudr* tree used in so many ceremonies must always be knocked off the tree by means of a stone. The latter of these practices must certainly be very ancient, and may well be a relic of an age in which implements were made of stone.

## THE POUNDER, SIEVE, AND BROOM

The interest of these articles lies in the fact that they are 356
evidently regarded as the emblems of woman. When the 562
*wursol* sleeps in the village hut, these articles are removed from the hut, and when the *ti* buffaloes pass the village of Kiudr, the women who leave this village take with them the pounder, sieve, and broom.

In the case of the *wursol*, this sacred personage may associate with the women themselves if the three objects which seem to be emblematic of womanhood are removed.

764 The pounder, sieve, and broom are burnt at the funerals of
775 women, who use the pounder on their journey to the other
world. A special kind of sieve called *kudshmurn* is also
burnt at the *azaramkedr*, but I believe that this is burnt at
all funerals, both of males and females.

171 The pounder, sieve, and broom are widely endowed with
magical properties, and this is especially the case in India,[1]
778 but I do not know of any other instance in which they are
especially regarded as the emblems of woman.

### WEAPONS

411 At the present time it cannot be said that the Todas use
796 any weapons, but they retain in their ceremonies weapons
which were, no doubt, formerly in use. These are the club
764 and the bow and arrow.

178 The club only remains in the funeral ceremonies, in which
it is called *nanmakud* (see Fig. 67), and is burnt at the
*azaramkedr*, and several other special sticks are also burnt,
which may have been of the nature of clubs.

[177] The bow and arrow have left more traces of their former
importance. They are burnt at the *azaramkedr* of a man,
and the weapons for this purpose are provided by the Kotas.
The bow and arrow are also used in the *kodtiti* ceremony of
411 a Tarthar funeral. In the *pursütpimi* ceremony the husband
796 gives an imitation bow and arrow to his wife. The bow gives
its name to the ceremony and its gift forms the essential
incident of the ceremony. Further, the bow has a special
name different for each clan. The use of an arrow lingers in
name in other ceremonies. In the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony,
the knife used for cutting up the sacrificed calf is called *ab*, or
arrow. In the ceremony of *tersamptpimi* a lock of hair is cut
from a young child with a piece of sharpened iron called
*kanab*, or "eye arrow," but this name is only in use among the
411 Tartharol. The use of these words seems to point to a time
when iron-tipped arrows were used as cutting instruments,
174 and it is even possible that this is a survival of a time when
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[1] See Crooke's *Popular Religion and Folk-Lore of Northern India*, 1896, vol. ii. pp. 187–191.

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| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *mopoth* | thirty | *ikwâ ötâk* |
| : | : | : |
| : | : | : |
| *mopoth mûd* | thirty-three | *mûkhwâ* |
| : | : | : |
| : | : | : |
| *nâlpoth* | forty | *mûkhwâ ödk* |
| : | : | : |
| : | : | : |
| *nâlpoth nonk* | forty-four | *nâkhwâ* |
| : | : | : |
| : | : | : |
| *epoth* | fifty | *nâkhwâ ârâk* |
| : | : | : |
| : | : | : |
| *epoth uiz* | fifty-five | *aiiwâ* |
| : | : | : |
| : | : | : |
| *âroth* | sixty | *aiiwâ oiâk* |
| : | : | : |
| : | : | : |
| *âroth âr* | sixty-six | *ârwâ* |
| : | : | : |
| : | : | : |
| *ôvoth* | seventy | *ârwâ eponi* |
| : | : | : |
| : | : | : |
| *ôvoth ô* | seventy-seven | *ökwâ* |
| : | : | : |
| : | : | : |
| *ötvoth* | eighty | *ökwâ mâk* |
| : | : | : |
| : | : | : |
| *ötvoth öt* | eighty-eight | *ötkwâ* |
| : | : | : |
| : | : | : |
| *unvoth* | ninety | *ötkwâ ârâk* |
| : | : | : |
| : | : | : |
| *unvoth unpoth* | ninety-nine | *unpawâ* |
| : | : | : |
| : | : | : |
| *anûr* | hundred | *unpawâ ud* |

Above a hundred the numbers of *kwâ* are continued to *potkwâ*, *ponudkwâ*, &c., up to twenty *kwâ*, which make one *siligh*, and then the people begin again at the beginning.

This occurrence of the number eleven is probably a consequence of the transactions between Todas and Badagas.

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804

177 There was some reason to believe that the true Toda measure
802 is the *âk* (probably a contraction of *achok*) and that the
804 Badagas brought their grain to the Todas in vessels called
*kwâ*. The *kwâ* contained eleven of the Toda *âk*, and hence came about the very unusual proportion between two measures.

802 In giving ages or any other period of time, the word for year, *kwòdr*, is often abbreviated to *wâ*; thus *nâpoth kwòdr*, forty years, becomes *nâpothkwâ*.

In counting the Todas use their fingers largely and have a special method of indicating the numbers. To signify one, the thumb is placed against the tip of the little finger; for two, against the tip of the ring finger; for three, against the middle finger; for four, against the forefinger; for five, the tip of the index finger is placed over the nail of the thumb; the same position is used for six, while that for seven is the same as for four, and so on, so that when ten is reached the thumb is resting again on the tip of the little finger.

### MONEY

177 The Todas use the ordinary Indian currency. In their
436 legends and ceremonies there is frequent reference to the
*panm*, or four-anna piece.

Among the coins used by the Todas at the funeral ceremonies there are many of considerable age with Arabic inscriptions, and the earlier visitors to the hills describe the Todas as possessing old Venetian gold pieces. In the legend telling how the *kaltmokh* of the Nòdrs *ti* dispersed the invading Coorgs (p. 114), the boy made use of a small gold coin called *pirpanm*, which he had in his possession.

### THE CALENDAR

805 The Todas have twelve months, each of which begins with the new moon. The first month of the Toda year is *Tai*, which begins with the new moon in October, so that this month usually includes part of October and part of November. Some of the chief Toda ceremonies, such as that of *teutüt-*

772 childbirth. It is said to be a star which is never present
821 in the same part of the sky as *Kadsht*. The reason for this is that once *Keirt* and *Kadsht* fought together. *Kadsht* had six men and *Keirt* only one. *Keirt* broke the leg of one of the six men, so that now there are five stars close together in the Pleiades and one lags behind. On account of this quarrel Swami ruled that *Kadsht* and *Keirt* must never be together, but that when *Kadsht* is on one side of the sky, *Keirt* must always be on the other.

When talking about *Keirt* in connexion with the ceremony of going to the seclusion-hut, it was said that *Keirt* was near the sun and that the sun was dangerous because *Keirt* was near it. It seemed that *Keirt* was always near the sun, which led me to suspect at first that it was Venus. It was quite clear, however, that this was not so. No one could show me *Keirt*, nor was anyone clear as to the part of the sky in which it was to be seen at any time in the night, and I think it most probable that this mysterious inhabitant of the sky is not a star at all, but a being allied to the Hindu *Ketu*. On the other hand, at a funeral attended by Samuel, the setting of *Kadsht* and the appearance of *Keirt* was taken as the sign that the proceedings of the *azaramkedr* might begin,
[177] which looks as if *Keirt* was a real heavenly body. I think it is most probable that the whole idea of the injurious influence of *Keirt* is borrowed from the Badagas, and, if this is the case, the Toda word is probably merely an altered form of *Ketu*. I was told that *Keirt* was a Badaga word and that the Badagas feared its influence on women after childbirth.

A group of stars called *Pòdimin*, or porcupine star, corresponds to the stars in the sword of Orion. They are regarded as a porcupine from which the three stars of the belt are trying to escape.

A constellation of seven stars is called *Katikâlmin*. From the description it appeared to be the Great Bear. This constellation was not visible, but when I made a drawing of its seven chief stars, it was at once recognised as *Katikâlmin*.

A single star called *Ishtkati* is almost certainly Sirius.

A single star called Ishtkati is almost certainly Sirius.

177 772 821 This star was not visible in the evenings during my visit, and at first Jupiter was pointed out to me as *Ishtkati*, but this was certainly wrong. *Ishtkati* appeared to correspond to the Badaga *etukaḍichi*, which means "bull deceiving." The origin of the name is that one night a Badaga went out from his house and saw a very bright star, so bright that he thought it was the morning star. So he let his bulls out from the enclosure in which he had put them for the night. When a long time passed and it did not become day, the man said, "Let the star be called *etukadichi*."

773 821 171 A pair of stars to which the Todas give the names of *Tûdrvalmokh* and *Tidiishti* are near Aldebaran, forming part of the Hyades (probably $\gamma$ and $\epsilon$ Tauri). The following story tells how these stars come to be in the sky.

Once on the hills there was a bird with young. The mother went away to get food and a snake came to eat the young ones. When the young birds saw the snake climbing up the tree, they called out to Kudursami, who is above. He heard their cry and took them to the sky. The name of the bird was *tûdrval*, and so one star is called *tûdrvalmokh*. The *tûdrval* still sings "*Kudursami trrrrrr*."

According to another version, the bird *tûdrval* had offended Swami, and as a punishment Swami took its young and they became the two stars.

This story appears to be a well-known Indian folk-tale, and it has certainly been a recent acquisition of the Todas.

177 772 773 821 It will be seen that there is much reason to believe that the greater part, if not all of the ideas of the Todas about the stars have been borrowed. In their own folk-lore there seems to be very little concerning the heavenly bodies except in the story of the man and the honey, and I even suspect this to be a borrowed legend which has been somewhat modified by Toda ideas.

It is interesting, and I think important, that references to Swami occur in these stars-myths. In an earlier chapter I have given it as my opinion that the idea of Swami has only recently been acquired by the Todas, and I attach importance to the occurrence of the name in legends which have certainly been borrowed from another race.

## GAMES

541 It is not altogether easy to draw the line between Toda games and Toda ceremonies. The sport which is practised with the greatest zest is undoubtedly the catching of the buffaloes at the funeral ceremonies, and in the old days when the *marvainolkedr* lasted two days, the first day, devoted to catching the buffaloes and putting them in the pen, must have been largely of a sportive character. Even now it is evident that the catching of the buffaloes is a spectacle which is much enjoyed by all in spite of the sad event which has led to its taking place.

The Todas have, however, pure games, though it is doubtful whether some of them have not acquired in a certain degree a ceremonial character.

524 526 177 In one of these games called *narthpimi*, a boy squeezes through a narrow tunnel formed by a flat slab of stone over two upright slabs. Two boys start from different distances, and the object of the nearer boy is to squeeze through the tunnel before the other can touch his feet. I did not have an opportunity of seeing this game, and I only saw the stones with which it is played at one village. This was at Nòdrs, where the three stones are called *menkars* and mark the spot at which one of the ordinary buffaloes is killed at the funeral ceremonies. The *menkars* is shown in Fig. 12 in front of and a little to the right of the entrance to the dairy.

Another game resembling tip-cat is called *eln*, and at some villages there is a special stone where the game is played. A piece of wood pointed at both ends is propped against the stone and struck with a stick, and should be caught by someone at a distance. The name for this game is probably Badaga,[1] and this suggests that the game has been borrowed from this people.

According to Breeks another game called *kȧriȧlapimi*, resembling 'puss in the corner,' is played by the Todas. The name suggests a true Toda game and I regret that I know nothing about it.

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[1] The game is described by Breeks and Thurston under the name of *ilata*, but this again is certainly not Toda.

One day I observed a stone near the village of Pakhalkudr, 526
and, asking whether it was for tip-cat, was told of a different
game. If a man jumped high enough at the stone, he could
see the top of a certain hill. On jumping at the stone I
could not see the hill, but by going a little way back, I found
that it became visible, and as far as I could judge, the jump
necessary at the stone would be a possible though a good
performance.

At many villages there is a large globular stone called 147
*tukitthkars* (lifted stone) and in another of the Toda games
this stone is lifted. A man should be able to lift it to the 526
shoulder, but this can now rarely, if ever, be done, and some 778
of the stones can only be lifted a little way from the ground.
Mr. Thurston saw the stone at Nòdrs lifted as high as the
pit of the stomach. These stones seem to afford clear
evidence of the degeneration of the Todas in physical
strength. There is little doubt that they could be lifted
much better by the Todas of a generation or two ago. Thus
there is a stone at Nidrsi which was brought by the grandfather
of Kudrmaskutan (43) in the pocket of his *putkuli*
from a place called Attibadi at a considerable distance from
Nidrsi. At the present time no Toda can do more than lift
the stone a little way from the ground. The *tukitthkars*
may not be lifted either on the *madnol* or the *palinol*.
Feasts are prohibited on these days, and it is probable that
the stone was often lifted on festive occasions. There is
evidence that, in some places at any rate, the stone has
acquired in some degree a sacred character. Thus, at the
village of Kiudr, one of the most sacred of Toda dairies, the
*tukitthkars* lies on a raised wall surrounding the dairy and
in this situation would most certainly acquire some of the
sanctity of its surroundings.

The Todas are very interested in athletic feats performed 517
by any of their number and sometimes put up memorials of 526
such feats. Thus, at Pishkwosht there are two stones marking 211
the distance once jumped by a Toda. Such an athletic feat may
be made the subject of a bet. Thus, four generations ago, 525
one of the ancestors of Kudrmaskutan (43) jumped a stream
called Kavageir, winning eighteen *nakh* (three-year-old 177

177 buffaloes) from a Badaga by doing so. Bets of this kind are
525 probably only made with Badagas, and betting is almost certainly not properly a Toda custom.

524 In addition to developed games, the Todas, and especially the children, often play with mimic representations of objects
857 from practical life. Near the villages I have seen small artificial buffalo-pens and fireplaces made by the children in sport. On the hill of Mirson, where the chief council used to be held, I found a small pen, well built and with a gate, and was assured that it was made in sport by the children only a few years ago. This hill is one on which there are many cairns and such mimic representations may possibly mystify some future archæologist.

524 The commonest toys with which the children play are little
764 imitation buffalo horns made of wood (see Fig. 35). In the legend, the boy Kuzkarv played with such horns, and even
517 little children in arms may be seen fondling these playthings. The horns are burnt with the body at the funeral ceremonies, but only at those of males, though this rule was infringed at the funeral of Sinerani. In the funeral lament for his wife Teitnir speaks of their playing with imitation horns and imitation bracelets, so that adults evidently amuse themselves in this way as well as children.

526 Another imitation sport I have often seen is that of boys
857 or youths hanging on the horns and round the necks of buffaloes exactly as is done when catching the animals at the funeral ceremonies. The skill shown at these ceremonies is probably the result of long practice in play of this kind.

Nearly all these games are connected in some way with the buffalo or the dairy, in some cases only remotely, as when the *menkars* of Nòdrs is used for the *narthpimi* game, while the *tukitthkars* may be kept by the dairy. Only one of the games so far described is wholly unconnected with the dairy, and this, the *eln* game, has a name which suggests that it has been borrowed.

517 Though the Todas have, as we see, a fair number of games, they are not much given to playing them. I never saw one of the more developed games in progress, and this formed a great contrast to my previous ethnological experience

192 198 different forms of the verb 'to milk' are used. "We have milked" at the village would be "*írkartkudrvispimi*," often shortened into *írkartspimi*, while at the *ti* "*karvukkudrivispimi*" would be said; "we have not milked" would be "*írkarami*" at the village and "*írkarpúkhami*" at the *ti*.

There are certain verbs used at the *ti* dairy which may only be pronounced by ordinary people in the third person. A good example is the verb *nört*, and it will be noticed that the names of ceremonies in which this verb is used have always been given in the third person, *irnörtiti*, and never in the first person plural as in the case of most other ceremonies.

About the third kind of sacred language, I know very little. It will have been noticed that the words and sentences which are used in the legends of Chapter IX are unlike those which occur elsewhere, and I was especially told that certain words only occurred in the stories of the gods. A special instance given was that of the words "*tar tûrzhoḍthrska*" (see p. 201), where *tar*[1] was said to be the *teu* word for 'man.' The words *kwudrpedrshai* and *kaipedrshai* in the same legend were given as other examples of *teu* language.

## SECRET LANGUAGE

177 198 195 The Todas have a large number of expressions which they use in the presence of Badagas, Tamils and others when they wish to be understood only by themselves. Many of the Badagas and Tamils with whom the Todas associate no doubt pick up some knowledge of their language, and even if this were not the case, the Toda language is sufficiently like Tamil to enable a stranger to understand part of what is said. In consequence the Todas have adopted a secret code for use among themselves which they call *kalikatpimi*, literally "stolen we tie," while in distinction the ordinary language is called *itherkelv* or "front fact."

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[1] The last syllable of the name Meilitars given to Kwoto is probably this wo so that the name means 'superior man.'

551 frequently used by the Teivaliol than by the Tartharol, and in both divisions it is rare in older generations.

I do not know the meaning of the terminations in *-olv* and *-eidi*: it is noteworthy, however, that *-olv* is also a frequent ending of the names of dairies.

The termination *-ner* or *-ners* sometimes becomes *-nêr*, and it may be the word for water, possibly with the idea of 'spring.'

The usual terminations of female names are *-veli*, *-veni* or *-vani*, *-eimi*, and *-idj* or *-ids*. Of these, the first is by far the most frequent, being usually pronounced with a *th* sound, as in *-velthli* or *-vilthli*. It is possibly the same word as a frequent Indian name of Venus, which is also the Toda name for this planet. The word also means silver and in the form *pelthiti* is used for 'white.'

The termination *-veni* or *-vani* is probably derived from *pani*, which is said to be an ancient name for a Toda woman. Occasionally the latter form occurred, as in the name of Sinadapani (67), and one of the wives of Kwoten was named Kwaterpani. I know nothing of the derivation of the terminations *-eimi* and *-ids*.

The names of Todas are often derived from villages, dairies or dairy vessels, hills and their deities, and objects of various kinds. There seems to be no objection to use the names of deities or of such sacred objects as the *mani* as personal [177] names, but only as those of men. Recently the Todas have begun to use words of Hindu or even English origin for the names of their children.

103 551 It is the names of men which are chiefly derived from villages, and at least twenty examples occur in the genealogies. In some cases the name of the village is used without any suffix, as in Ushadr (48) and Madsu (58); in other cases one or other of the customary terminations is used, as in Keradrkutan[1] (26), Nongarsivan (62), Kuirsiners (18), and Karseidi (8). The special point of interest here is that the names of villages which have now disappeared may be preserved as personal names; thus Harkness mentions the village of Kattaul as being near Ootacamund, and, though the

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[1] This name also occurs in the story of Kwoten.

names as buffaloes. There is only one doubtful example 551
in the genealogies, Kerani (35). This is also the name of a bell, and I am doubtful whether it is really a buffalo-name. It is probable that the absence of the names of buffaloes is merely utilitarian and has no deeper significance. Buffaloes are generally referred to by name, and it would obviously be inconvenient that they should have the same names as people.

Many other names are derived from objects or from the language of everyday life. Examples of such are Nipa, stream; Perol, unsanctified man; Irsimitch, lime; Sakari, sweet; Kakar, a grass; Mogai, cubit; Kapur, camphor; and Pòl, a two-year-old calf. Sometimes such words become names by the addition of the terminations *-kûdr* or *-veli*, as in Panmkudr, the horn of a four-anna piece, and Nirveli and Kadakveli, derived from the words for water and for the wild rose. Probably with a wider knowledge of the Toda vocabulary, it would be found that a very large number of the names are formed in this way.

In one case a girl was called Mudukugh (72). She was the third girl in the family, and the name was no doubt given to commemorate the fact.

Often two or more children of a family are given names with a considerable degree of similarity to one another. In one case two brothers are called Mongeidrvan and Tergeidrvan (53); in another, Piliar and Piliag (52); and in a third, Singudr and Sinar (55); three sisters are called Teinesveli, Ternersveli, and Kenerveli (51), and in such cases it seems probable that new names are invented.

At the present time children are in many cases receiving 177
Hindu names. Three young boys are called Arjun, Parvishki,
and Sandisparan, and a young girl is called Natcham, which 551
was said to represent Latchmi. Other Hindu names are Katcheri (Cutcherry), Sirkar, Kedjeri, and probably there are many others.

In a few cases names of English origin have probably been given, as in the case of Pensil, and the name Birkidj was said to be derived from Breeks.

The genealogical record shows clearly that this use of names derived from external sources is quite recent. There is a very

177 551 striking difference in general character between the names of the present and those of older generations, and a foreign origin is especially frequent in the names of children less than ten or fifteen years of age. The evidence from names would seem to point to a rapid spread of outside influence during the last ten years.

Shortened forms of names are often used. The termination of a word may be dropped; thus Nurmaners is often called Nurman, Ultzkudr becomes Ultz, and Paniolv, Pani. Sometimes the contraction is of a different kind; thus the girls Astrap and Pumundeivi are usually called Asp and Pumidz, and the name of the boy Kulpakh often becomes Kulen.

In addition to his proper name nearly every Toda has a nickname, usually given to him by the Badagas. These names often refer to some personal peculiarity, and this is probably the reason why nicknames were usually given to me with great reluctance, there being a distinct reversal of the condition found in communities of lower culture, where the proper names are usually kept secret, while only nicknames are uttered. Arpurs (46) was nicknamed Suri (knife) on account of his sharp nose, and Nertolvan (16) is called Teinkan or 'Bee eye,' on account of the smallness of his eyes, like those of the honey bee. In other cases I do not know the origin of the Badaga names, but they have usually different forms from those of true Toda names, often terminating in *-oin* or *-üln*. Sometimes the Badaga name is merely a modification of the Toda name, as when Tudrvan becomes Utudiki. In a few cases I heard the Badaga name of a man more often than his Toda name; thus Tövoniners is usually called Aravoin, and a noted Toda of the last generation is always spoken of by his Badaga name, Mervoin. In a few cases, men long dead are remembered by their Badaga names, while their Toda names are forgotten.

551 As I have already indicated, nicknames are often used by people of low culture as a means of evading taboos, and though, as we shall see shortly, such taboos exist among the Todas, I met with no instance in which a Toda, who was unable to utter a name, gave a nickname in its stead.

## CHAPTER XXVII

### RELATIONS WITH OTHER TRIBES

101 IN this chapter I propose to put together the chief facts
177 with which I am acquainted which throw light on the very
difficult problem of the relations between the Todas and the
186 other tribes of the Nilgiri Hills. The chapter could only be written with any degree of completeness by one who had studied the question from the point of view of each of the Nilgiri tribes separately. I have only been able to do so, and that incompletely, from the Toda point of view. My information is derived almost wholly from the Todas themselves, and gives their way of regarding the relations between themselves and the other tribes.

The five tribes inhabiting the Nilgiri Hills are shown in Fig. 68 (taken from Breeks), the Todas in the centre with the Badagas on their right and the Kotas on their left. Next to the Badagas are the Irulas, and next to the Kotas are the Kurumbas.

The tribes with which the Todas come into contact habitually are the Badagas and Kotas, while their points of contact with Kurumbas and Irulas are much less important. The Badagas are not only the agriculturists of the Todas, but are the constant intermediaries between the Todas and the extra-Nilgiri world. The two tribes regard each other more or less as social equals. The Kotas, on the other hand, who are the artisans of the Todas, are regarded by them as social inferiors. The relations with the former may be considered first.

### TODAS AND BADAGAS

101 The Todas call a Badaga *Mav*,[1] which seems to be a form
of the Canarese word for father-in-law or maternal uncle.
The origin of this term is said to have been that when the
Todas first met a Badaga, they asked his name and he
177 answered "*Mav*." A Badaga who performs certain services
for the *palol* is called *tikelfmav*. Certain elders of the
609 Badagas are also called *madtin*.

Whenever a Toda meets a Badaga *monegar* (headman) or an old Badaga with whom he is acquainted, a salutation passes between the two which is represented in Fig. 69. The Toda stands before the Badaga, inclines his head slightly, and says "*Madtin pudia!*" ("*Madtin*, you have come.") The Badaga replies "*Buthuk! buthuk!*" ("Blessing, blessing") and rests his hand on top of the Toda's head. This greeting only takes place between Todas and the more important of the Badaga community. It would seem that every Badaga headman may be greeted in this way, but a Toda will only greet other Badaga elders if he is already acquainted with them. The salutation is made to members of all the various castes of the Badagas except the Torayas. It has been held to imply that the Todas regard the Badagas as their superiors, but it is doubtful how far this is the case. The Todas themselves say they follow the custom because the Badagas help to support them. It seems to be a mark of respect paid by the Todas to the elders of a tribe with which they have very close relations, and it is perhaps significant that no similar sign of respect is shown to Toda elders by the Badagas.

177 The Badagas perform definite services for the Todas and
give what may be regarded as a tribute of grain at the harvest.
651 The tribute is called *gudu*. I did not myself investigate the
nature of the *gudu*, and there is some difference of opinion
among previous writers[2] as to whether a definite amount of grain

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[1] *Mav* is also the Toda word for sambhar.

[2] According to Harkness, "each burgher, hamlet, or village" gives about two quarts (p. 108), or (p. 135) half a bushel to the *ti* and half a bushel to the other Todas. According to Breeks (p. 9), the *gudu* is about one-tenth, one-eighth, or one-fifth of the gross produce.

or a given proportion of the crop is given. I have no information as to the way in which the giving of the tribute is regulated, and it is eminently one of those points on which evidence must be sought from both Todas and Badagas. In the case of the Kotas, we shall see that there is a definitely organised system regulating the relations of certain Kota villages to certain Toda clans, and some such system probably exists to regulate the supply of Badaga grain to different clans, but I have no information on the point.[1]

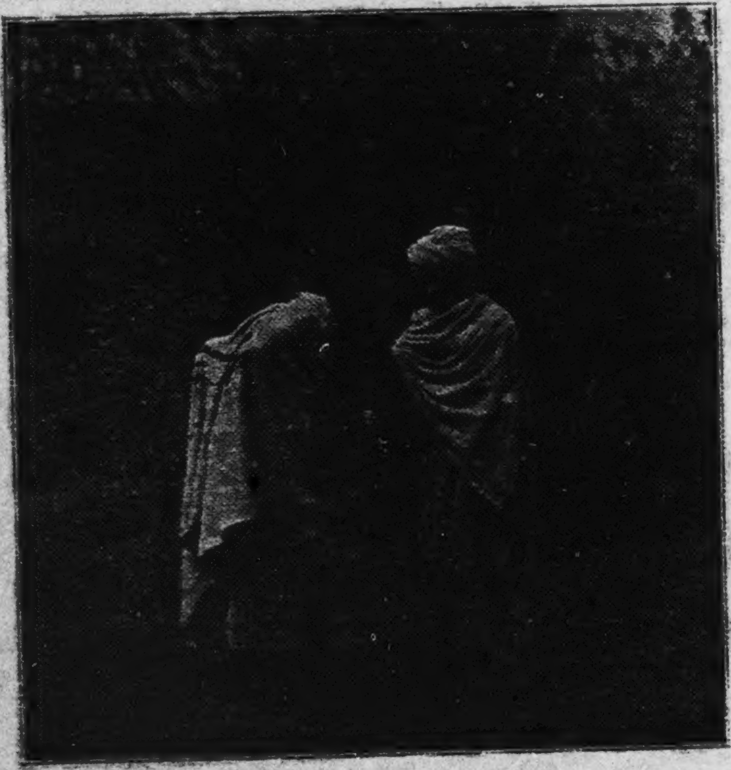

FIG. 69.—A BADAGA GREETING A TODA

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[1] It is possible that the elucidation of this point might also help towards the explanation of the Badaga account of the Toda clans.

177 651 The contribution of grain from the Badagas has usually been regarded as given in return for the use of the land, the Todas being supposed to be the original owners of the soil. That this is not the whole explanation is shown by the fact that the Badagas also give a tribute of grain to two other Nilgiri tribes, the Kotas and Kurumbas. Harkness[1] was told by the Badagas that the portion given to the *ti* was in return for the prayers of the *palol*, and that they did not believe that "their crops or their cattle, themselves or their children, would prosper without his blessing." The Badagas also stated that they generally desisted from cultivating their fields when the *ti* was left without a *palol*. They looked on the tribute of grain to the Todas as given of their own good will, while a similar tribute to the Kurumbas was dictated by fear of the consequences of sorcery which might be employed if the duty were neglected.

[754] It has been supposed that the fear of Toda sorcery is one reason for the maintenance of the tribute, and, since the Badagas undoubtedly fear the power of the Toda sorcerers, it is probable that this factor plays a part, though one less important than in the case of the Kurumbas.

[234] Another view which has been taken is that the Todas maintain rights over old dairies in the middle of the Badaga fields, and that any recalcitrance on the part of the Badagas might be followed by the taking up of these old rights. It is possible that the Todas have at some time threatened to resume their rights over disused dairies, but, in the case of the more sacred dairies, the fear of defilement of the sacred buffaloes by approaching a Badaga village would prevent the Todas from putting such a threat into practice.

The grain is probably given, partly because it is an immemorial custom, partly because the Badagas believe that they receive benefits and avoid evils in consequence of the custom.

177 437 At the present time, the amount of grain supplied by the Badagas is not sufficient for the needs of the Todas, and both grain and rice are bought by the Todas in the bazaar. All the grain used by the *palol* must, however, be that supplied by

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[1] P. 136.

the Badagas; but if more grain is required than the Badagas 177
supply, it is possible that other grain may be used, though it 437
is always in this case procured through the Badagas. The rice
used at a *ti* dairy must also be procured through the Badagas.

The supply of grain is far from being the only duty of the 177
Badagas to the *ti* dairies. Each *ti* has one or more special 234
Badagas, each called *tikelfmav*, or "*ti* help Badaga," who acts 609
as intermediary between the *palol* and the Hindus. The
earthenware vessels used in the inner room, the various 437
garments of the *palol*, and other objects are made by Hindus,
from whom they are procured by the *tikelfmav*. I did not
learn of any material recompense given to the Badagas for
these services, and the motive is probably some such belief as
that described by Harkness.

One of the most important parts played by the Badagas in 177
the Toda community is in connexion with the *naim*, or council, 623
of which one member is a Badaga belonging to the village of
Tuneri. He is only called upon to sit, however, in cases of
difficulty, and probably one of his functions is to assist in the
settlement of any dispute which may arise in connexion with
the tribute of grain, or other transactions between members of
the two communities.

There is little evidence that the Badagas have had much 177
influence on the more important customs and ceremonies of the Todas. Few traces of their influence are to be found in the dairy ceremonial, but it is possible that some of the rites accompanying birth and death may have been borrowed from this people. The practice of making cicatrices on the arm (p. 576) is common to both Badagas and Todas, and may have been borrowed by the latter from the former, but the practice is not in any way of a ceremonial character. The only part played by a Badaga at a Toda funeral is that the bell called *tukulir mani* may be kept by a Badaga or a Kota, and, as I have suggested on p. 377, the whole ceremony with the calf in which this bell is used may have been borrowed from the Badagas. The idea of a thread bridge between this world and the next is said to be common to Todas and Badagas, but I have no evidence to show which has borrowed from the other.

177 In the ordinary life of the people there is more evidence of
342 influence. At many Toda villages there may now be seen
huts like those of the Badagas which usually result from the
621 practice of allowing Badagas to occupy a Toda village when
the proper occupants have gone elsewhere. The visitors build a hut of their own kind in which to live, and sometimes the Todas on their return inhabit this hut, though in general they only use it as an appanage to the hut of the proper kind.

The fact that the Badagas will thus come to live at a Toda village seems to show that when the Todas move from one place to another the pasturage is not necessarily exhausted, for the Badagas would not bring their buffaloes in this case. It seems that the grazing-grounds for the Badaga buffaloes are not very extensive, and that the Badagas are always glad to use the more extensive pasturage of the Todas, even when the grass has been partly eaten off.

431 Transactions in buffaloes between Todas and Badagas
seem now to be fairly frequent. I often heard of a buffalo as
437 having been received from the Badagas, but I have no very
definite information as to the reasons for the transference. On the occasion of the ceremony of the ear-piercing of Tikievan's sons (p. 336), Tikievan received a present of two buffaloes from the Badaga *monegar* of Tuneri, and this present was said to be in return for things which Tikievan had previously given to the *monegar*, but I did not learn the exact nature of this gift.

177 In two departments there is very clear evidence of Badaga influence. The astronomical ideas of the Todas are almost certainly borrowed from their neighbours (see Chap. XXIV), and in the closely allied practical question of the calendar I think Badaga influence may be suspected.

177 The other department is medicine. There is no special
reason to suppose that the magical remedies of the *utkòren*
278 (Chap. XII) have been borrowed from the Badagas, but the
more strictly medical remedies used by the Todas are largely
borrowed, the actual leaves or other substances employed
762 being obtained from the Badagas. The practice of suicide by
opium, said to be very prevalent among the Badagas, has, in

at least one recent case, been adopted by a Toda, and the 762
threat of suicide by this means is said to be fairly common.

There is no doubt that the Badagas believe in the powers 177
of the Toda sorcerers. I was told of several definite instances 754
in which misfortunes were believed to have been brought
upon the Badagas in this way, and there is little doubt that, 787
in one case, the supposed author of the death of a child was murdered by the Badagas.

If a Badaga suspects magical influence of this kind he may consult one of the Toda diviners, showing that the Badagas believe in Toda divination as well as in Toda sorcery.

It is probable that the relations between the Todas and 177
Badagas have existed for very long. It is generally held
that the Badagas are comparatively recent immigrants to the 174
Nilgiri Hills. Breeks[1] states that the Badagas are said to have come to the hills about three centuries ago in consequence of the troubles that followed the fall of Vijayanagar, but it is certain that they have been on the hills much longer than this, for the account of Finicio in 1602 (see App. I) shows that the relations between Todas and Badagas were much the same then as they are now. The close connexion of Badagas with the *ti* dairies, their intermediation between the *palol* and the Hindu, and the fact that the *palol* must eat Badaga grain, are all indications of very ancient relations between the two tribes.

There is one fact which may be held to show that the relation between Todas and Badagas is recent as compared with that between the Todas and other Nilgiri tribes. This is the fact that the Badagas are not mentioned in one of the legends of the Toda gods, while Kotas, Kurumbas, and Irulas each play a part in one or more of these stories.

## TODAS AND KOTAS

The Toda name for a Kota is *Kuv*. The relation between [101]
the two people is very different from that between Toda and 177

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[1] P. 4.

177 186 609 Badaga. While a Toda regards a Badaga as his equal, or perhaps even as his superior, he looks down on the Kota as inferior, as hardly to be classed as a man with himself. In their secret language, a Toda speaks of a Kota as *kimas itkvai*, "he that is beneath," and in the remedies for the evil eye (see p. 264) the Kotas are the only hill tribe which is not thought worthy of mention—they are not thought to be of sufficient importance to be able to cast the evil eye. When a Kota meets a Toda, he raises both hands to his face and salutes from a distance. The two people do not touch one another in general, though I do not know that contact is definitely prohibited. A Toda will not sleep or take food at a Kota village in general, but makes an exception in the case of Kulgadi in the Wainad (see p. 200). It is usually supposed that the contempt of the Toda for the Kota is due to the flesh-eating, or even carrion-eating, habits of the latter, and this is certainly one of the elements which influence the relations between the two peoples.

177 437 The Kotas supply the Todas with the larger part of their pottery and ironware.[1] All the earthenware vessels of the dairies, except those of the inner rooms of the *ti* dairies, are supplied by the Kotas, and the various knives and other metal objects of the Todas are chiefly obtained from these people. The Kotas supply most of the things burnt at Toda funerals and they supply the music on these occasions.

Just as the Badagas do not supply grain to the Todas only, so the Kotas do artisan work for Badagas, Kurumbas, and Irulas. The Kotas are the artisans, not of the Todas only, but of the whole hill district.

101 177 437 The relations between the Todas and Kotas are strictly regulated, each Kota village supplying certain Toda clans. There are seven Kota villages on the hills, of which the following are the Toda and Badaga names:—

In the Todanad district:—

Tizgudr, Tizgadr, or Tizgwadr (Badaga, Tirichigadi), between Ootacamund and Kanòdrs, near the Toda village of Ushadr.

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[1] According to Breeks, the Kotas who supply the Todas are known as *muttu* Kotas.

Kurguli (B. Padagula or Kuruvoje), near the Badaga village of Sholur. 101 177

In the Mekanad district:—

Kalmal (B. Kolamala or Kollimalai), not far from Kateri. 437

In the Peranganad district:—

Meilkukal (B. Melkotagiri or Perangada) in Kotagiri, one of the three chief European stations on the hills. Kikukal (B. Kilkotagiri or Kinnada), north-east of Kotagiri.

In the Kundanad district:—

Medrkukal (B. Menada).

The seventh is Kulgadi (B. Kalagasa) at Gudalur in the Wainad.

The village of Tizgudr is connected with the Toda clans of Kars, Melgars, Kanòdrs, and sometimes with the people of Kulhem. Kurguli supplies the clans of Nòdrs, Taradr, Kuudr, Piedr, and Kusharf, and occasionally Kulhem. Kalmal supplies Keradr, Nidrsi, Päm, Kidmad, and Keadr. Meilkukal and Kikukal are both connected with Kwòdrdoni and Pedrkars, and Medrkukal is the Kota village of the Panol. Kulgadi is connected only with the village of Kavidi, near Gudalur, which belongs to the Piedrol. When there were several Toda villages in the Wainad, it probably served them all.

The connexion between clans and villages seems to depend almost wholly on geographical distribution. The clans are supplied by the Kota villages which are nearest to their headquarters. An outlying village such as Kavidi has not the same Kota village as the rest of its clan. The Kidmadol, who are a branch of the Melgarsol, have not the same Kota village as the parent stock; but, on the other hand, the Panol, who now live chiefly among other Todas near Governor Shola, are still connected with the Kundah Kotas.

Each Kota village is responsible for the supply of the clan or clans with which it is connected. Its inhabitants make the various utensils used in the household and in the less sacred dairy work of the Todas. At the funeral of any member of a clan with which they are connected, they provide the music and the following objects:— 177 437 764

At the *etvainolkedr*, a cloak in which the corpse is wrapped,

177 five to ten measures (*kwa*) of the grain called *patm* (*samai*),
437 and one or two rupees. If the Kotas do not possess the
764 grain, they may give another one or two rupees in its stead.

At the *marvainolkedr*, they supply a cloak; eight annas to pay for the embroidery of the cloak, which is done by the Toda women; two to five rupees towards the funeral expenses; a bow and three arrows; a knife (*kafkati*); a sieve (*kudshmurn*) and a basket (*tek*).

In return, the Kotas receive the carcases of the buffaloes killed at the funeral, and on the occasion of a Kota funeral, the Todas supply one male calf from three to five years of age and one measure (*kudi*) of clarified butter. The Kotas also receive the bodies of any Toda buffaloes which die a natural death.

177 A Kota visiting a Toda village at any time is given
437 clarified butter to take away with him. He is also given
food consisting of jaggery and rice, which must be eaten
609 on the outskirts of the village. A Kota is never given milk,
796 buttermilk, or butter.

Once a year there is a definite ceremony in which the Todas go to the Kota village with which they are connected, taking an offering of clarified butter and receiving in return an offering of grain from the Kotas. I only obtained an account of this ceremony as performed between the people of Kars and the Kota village of Tizgudr, and I do not know whether the details would be the same in other cases.

177 In the Kars ceremony the Todas go on the appointed day
609 to the Kota village, headed by a man carrying the clarified
butter. Outside the village, they are met by two Kota priests
796 whom the Todas called *teupuli*, who bring with them a dairy
vessel of the kind the Todas call *mu*, which is filled with *patm* grain. Other Kotas follow with music. All stand outside the village, and one of the Kotas puts ten measures (*kwa*) of *patm* into the pocket of the cloak of the leading Toda, and the *teupuli* give the *mu* filled with the same grain.

The *teupuli* then go to their temple and return, each bringing a *mu*, and the clarified butter brought by the Todas is divided into two equal parts, and half is poured into each *mu*. The leading Toda then takes some of the butter and rubs it on the heads of the two Kota priests, who prostrate themselves, one at each foot of the Toda, and the Toda prays as follows :— 177 609 796

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Ultamâ ;* | *Kôtv* | *erdm* | *tânenmâ ;* | *kadr* | *pelumâ ;* |
| May it be well ; | Kotas | two | may it be well ; | fields | flourish may ; |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *mâ un mâ ;* | *îr* | *kar* | *mâ,* | *nôtv* | *podr* | *mâ.* |
| rain may ; | buffalo | milk | may, | disease | go | may. |

The Toda then gives the two *mu* containing the clarified butter to the Kota priests, and he and his companions return home.

This ceremony is obviously one in which the Todas are believed to promote the prosperity of the Kotas, their crops, and their buffaloes.[1]

In another ceremonial relation between Todas and Kotas, the Kwòdrdoni *ti* is especially concerned. The chief annual ceremony of the Kotas is held about January in honour of the Kota god Kambataraya. This ceremony lasts about a fortnight, and, during part of the time, the proceedings are attended by Todas and other of the hill tribes. In order that this ceremony may take place, it is essential that there should be a *palol* at the Kwòdrdoni *ti*, and at the present time this *ti* is only occupied every year shortly before and during the ceremony. The *palol* gives clarified butter to the Kotas, which should be made from the milk of the *aṛsaiir*, the buffaloes of the *ti*. Some Kotas of Kotagiri whom I interviewed claimed that these buffaloes belonged to them, and that something was done by the *palol* at the Kwòdrdoni *ti* in connexion with the Kambataraya ceremony, but they could not or would not tell me what it was.

The relations between Todas and Kotas are probably of very old standing. The fact that the Kotas supply the bow and arrows burnt at a Toda funeral suggests that the connexion goes back to the time when the Todas used these weapons, while the special sieve supplied by the Kotas for a funeral is of a different pattern from that in use at the present 177 174

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[1] The Kotas are agriculturists as well as mechanics, and, according to Breeks, they are quite as efficient as the Badagas in this occupation. They also keep buffaloes, though chiefly or entirely for their own use.

●177 time. The Kotas are mentioned in Toda legend. The
174 people of Tizgudr play a prominent part in the story of
Kwoten (p. 195), and this deity is said to have been the first
773 Toda who stayed at a Kota village, viz., at the village of
Kulgadi (or Gudalur). He sat and slept on the Kota *tün* and since that time the Todas have stayed at this village, though they will not stay at any other. The relation between Kwoten and the Kotas seems to have been especially close. The old woman, Muturach, from whom the present people of Kanòdrs are descended, according to the legend, may have been a Kota. The Kotas who give tribute to the Todas are known as their *muttu* Kotas, and the first part of the old woman's name may have been this word.

Our acquaintance with Kota mythology is too scanty to contribute much to our knowledge of the relations between the two peoples. Breeks states that Kurguli (Padagula) is the oldest of the Kota villages, and that the Badagas believe that the Kotas of this village were made by the Todas. At Kurguli there is a temple of the same form as the Toda dairy, and this is said to be the only temple of the kind at any Kota village.

Breeks gives a legend which records the origin of the different foods of the Nilgiri tribes. Kambataraya, perspiring profusely, wiped from his forehead three drops of perspiration, and out of these formed the Todas, Kurumbas, and Kotas. The Todas were told to live principally upon milk, the Kurumbas were permitted to eat the flesh of buffalo calves, and the Kotas were allowed perfect liberty, being informed that they might eat carrion if they could get nothing better. My interpreter, Albert, was told a different version of this legend, according to which Kambataraya gave to each people a pot. In the Toda pot was calf-flesh, and so the Todas eat the flesh of calves (*i.e.*, at the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony); the Kurumba pot contained the flesh of a male buffalo, so this is eaten by the Kurumbas. The pot of the Kotas contained the flesh of a cow-buffalo, which may, therefore, be eaten by this people.

## TODAS AND KURUMBAS

101 609 The Toda name for a Kurumba is *Kurub*, which often sounds like *Kurb*. In the secret language, a Kurumba is called *âr kârthpol*, "the man who watches the way." Mr. Thurston states that when a Kurumba meets a Toda, he bends forward and the Toda places his hand on the Kurumba's head. The Todas may visit Kurumba villages and take food in them.

177 437 Two ceremonial objects are obtained by the Todas from the Kurumbas. One is the tall pole called *tadrsi* or *tadri*, which is used in the dance at the second funeral ceremonies and afterwards burnt. Poles of the proper length are said to grow only on the Malabar side of the Nilgiris and are probably most easily obtained from the Kurumbas. The other is the *teiks*, or funeral post at which the buffalo is killed, which is probably made of teak wood.

177 754 The most striking feature of the relations between Todas and Kurumbas is the belief of the former in the magical powers of the latter, a belief which is shared by both Kotas and Badagas. The sorcery of the Toda is dangerous, but can be remedied, while for *kurubudrchiti*, or Kurumba sorcery, there is no remedy, and all that can be done is to kill the Kurumba, apparently to avoid further evil consequences to the community rather than from motives of revenge.

177 787 The Kurumbas play no part in the social life of the Todas. With the one exception of providing the funeral pole, I could not learn that they had any functions at Toda ceremonies. It was said that the *teuol*, Pangudr, who was believed to be inspired by Kwoto, must dance, *i.e.*, divine, to the Kurumbas before he dances to the Todas, and when so doing, must dance like a lame man, this behaviour owing its origin to the god Kwoto (see p. 209). It is possible that this shows that the Kurumbas believe in Toda divination and consult the diviners.

177 773 The Kurumbas are mentioned in several Toda legends. According to one account, it was this people whom Kwoto deceived, making them eat the flesh of a buffalo calf;

177 according to another, it was the Panins or Panyas who were
773 deceived by the god.

Kwoten is said to have initiated the practice of allowing Todas to visit Kurumba villages, and he appears to have been closely connected, in some way, with the Kurumbas, who still offer plantains to Terkosh and light lamps in her honour, Terkosh being the goddess who was connected with his disappearance and deification.

174 In the story of Kuzkarv, the Kurumbas, together with the
177 Irulas, collect honey for the Todas from nests in a tree,[1] and
this seems to point to a time when these tribes took an active
773 part in the social life of the Todas. It seems possible that
the Kurumbas and Irulas were the huntsmen of the Todas,
and sought roots and honey for them, just as the Badagas
were the agriculturists and the Kotas the mechanics.

### TODAS AND IRULAS

101 The Irulas live on the lower slopes of the Nilgiri Hills and
177 have few relations with the Todas. They are called *Erl* by
the Todas, and, according to Mr. Thurston, they are saluted
609 in the same way as the Kurumbas. The Irulas are among
754 the people mentioned in the remedial formula used against
the effects of the evil eye, and are evidently regarded as having
some magical power, though they are not feared in the same
measure as the Kurumbas.

177 The name of the Irulas only occurs once in my collection
of Toda legends, in the story of Kuzkarv, where they are
773 associated with the Kurumbas. Atioto, who is the special
deity of Kwòdrdoni and Pedrkars, is said to have a temple of
which the priest is an Irula. This is probably an Irula temple
to which the Todas make offerings.

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[1] It is perhaps noteworthy that some of the Kurumbas of Malabar are still noted for their cleverness in collecting honey, and are known as *Tēn* or honey Kurumbas (Fawcett, *Bull. Madras Museum*, iii, p. 9).

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

*Pushtar* (Pattaraimand). This village is one at which the *tesherst* ceremony (see p. 154) is sometimes performed. 621

*Kudimad* (Kulimand). This is a large village near Taradr at which many of the people live, but it is not an important village ceremonially, having only one dairy, a *tarvali*.

Near Paikara there can still be seen the remains of a village called *Pevar* which was deserted because the family which lived there became extinct.

### KERADR

This is one of the smallest of the Tarthar clans, all its members being included in Table 26. There are at present sixteen male and nine female members. 618 621

There is at present only one *kudr*, the other having become extinct about three generations ago. As there has been no occasion for *irnörtiti*, no fresh division has been made. The *kudr* has two *pòlm*, one headed by Paniolv, and the other by Teikner.

The chief village, Keradr (Kannagimand), is situated in the south-west part of the hills near the Teivali village of Keadr. Keradr is also the male funeral place of the clan and was not occupied at the time of my visit. At this time most of the Keradrol were living at Tovalkan, near Paikara, a recent village at which there is a dairy of the ordinary kind (*tarvali*). Near the houses there is a raised mound shown in Fig. 59, [211] erected to mark the spot on which Keirevan (26) was killed by falling from a tree into which he had climbed to cut wood.

### KANÒDRS

This is one of the outlying Toda clans, and its people were said to have been less influenced by the altered conditions on the hills than any other clan, but they seem nevertheless to have given up several of their institutions. The sacred *poh* is only occasionally occupied, and I am doubtful whether they can be said to be in a more untouched condition than several other clans. The people are often called the Kererol, but I could not find that there was any village of Kerer from which this name is derived, and it is possibly the name of a district of [177] 618 234

Near the village is a forest hut, and opposite this are two 621
stones called *pedrkars*. The Todas once had a large
gathering here, and a man jumped a long distance which was
recorded by means of these stones.

The other villages of the Kanòdrsol, *Taknin*, *Kushu* or *Kushu*, &c., are in the same neighbourhood, but I was unable to visit them, and do not know whether they have any objects of interest.

FIG. 71.—THE STONES AT PISHKWOSHT CALLED 'TEUAR.'

## KWÒDRDONI

This is the most outlying of Toda clans, but numerous tea 177
estates have been established in its neighbourhood, and the 618
people appear to have been a good deal influenced by the
altered conditions. I was unable to visit any of the villages, 621
and I know less about this clan than any other.

All the villages of the clan are situated in the district of the hills called by the Todas Purgòdr, and the people of the clan are, therefore, often called the Purgòdrol.

man, and the Todas tell how on one occasion two English 618
soldiers came to Päm and insulted the women and how 159
Karnisi took the two men unaided to the barracks at
Wellington.

Karnisi also spent a fortune which had been stored in the dairy of Päm for many generations. A vessel (*pun*) full of rupees had been deposited in the dairy by an ancestor of Karnisi called Kiuten. It remained there till Karnisi spent it in buying buffaloes, ornaments for his many wives and household goods. He gave some of the rupees away and spent others in travelling to Coimbatore, and in a short time the money had disappeared.

### NIDRSI

The headquarters of the Nidrsi clan are to the south of 177
Coonoor. The people are closely surrounded by tea estates
and have been much influenced. It is not now a large clan, 618
having about sixteen male and twenty-five female members. 621

There are two *kudr*, headed by Todrigars (41) and Kudrmaskutan (43) respectively, each *kudr* having two *pòlm*. The chief men of the *pòlm* of one *kudr* are Puveners (40) and Todrigars, and of the other *kudr*, Kadrḳutan (42) and Kudrmaskutan.

This clan affords a very good example of the degeneration 234
which has in some cases befallen the dairy organisation. The
people have only one *wursulir* left. The dairy (*wursuli*) has 618
fallen into ruins, and they have no *wursol* and, therefore, the one buffalo is not milked. At a funeral of a male they will have to procure a *wursol* from another clan to kill this buffalo.

There are two *mani*, called *Eshkiakudr* and *Eikudr*, each [778]
with an iron chain, but as they have no *wursuli* these bells are kept under a stone at Akirsikòdri, the male funeral village. The other sacred buffaloes, *pineipir*, &c., are milked at a *tarvali*.

There are now only four inhabited villages, and only one of 621
these seems to be of any importance.

*Nidrsi*. This is near the Badaga village of Hulikal. It

198 shown by him and by other Teivaliol because I had been
616 told of their peculiarities of language than was ever shown
after the exposure of deeds distinctly immoral even from the
554 Toda point of view. I shall return to this subject again
shortly; I mention it here because it seemed to me to afford
the clearest evidence that the Teivaliol were conscious of
their own inferiority in the social scale.

616 In the story of Kwoten we find that the Tarthar hero is
accompanied by Erten of Keadr, a Teivali man, and the
latter was said to have been the servant of the former. This
suggests the possibility that at one time the Teivaliol may
have acted as servants to the Tartharol, even more definitely
than at present.

184 At the present time there are some features of the social
616 organisation and social life which might be held to weigh
strongly against the idea that the Teivaliol are the inferior
623 division. The *monegar* of the Todas is one of the Teivaliol,
177 and the most influential member of the *naim*, or council, at the
present time is a Teivali man. I believe the monegarship,
651 however, to be a recent institution, possibly dating only from
the advent of Europeans to the hills. The chief duty of the
*monegar* is the collection of the assessment made by the
Government, and it is quite consistent with Toda ideas that
this troublesome, and from their point of view menial duty
176 should be handed over to one of the Teivaliol. The great
power of the Teivaliol in the *naim* is probably still more
184 recent and due to the influence of one man. The Teivaliol
616 should have only one representative on the *naim*, while the
623 Tartharol should have three, and it is entirely owing to the
powerful personality of Kuriolv that this balance has been
disturbed, and that the influence of the Teivaliol is so
predominant. It is possible that Kuriolv will do much
to obliterate the social inequality of the two divisions, though
I suspect from what the Todas told me that it is intended to
revert to the old order as soon as he dies.

184 There is one custom which shows very clearly that it is
only as dairymen that the Teivaliol have any sanctity. If the
234 sacred buffaloes (*pasthir*) of the Teivaliol go to a Tarthar village,
616 they may be milked either at a *wursuli* or a *tarvali*, and the

sacred function is not limited to that division. The magical 184
powers of the sorcerer seem to be now almost equally divided 616
among the two divisions, and there is no evidence that magical 791
powers in the past have been attributed to one division more
than to the other.

In the preceding pages I have put together the chief 174
evidence which throws any light on the problem raised by 184
the existence of the two divisions of the Toda people. It is
far from conclusive, but I incline to the view that the present 616
organisation of the Todas is due to the coalescence of two tribes or castes which came to the hills at different times. It seems probable that the Tartharol arrived first and occupied the hills widely. When later the Teivaliol came, it seems possible that they were placed by the Tartharol in those priestly offices which, though honourable, involved many hardships and restrictions, and were assigned dwelling-places and pastures in a comparatively limited district of the hills.

The analysis of the genealogical record has brought out 174
some interesting differences between the two divisions. The 184
data compiled from the genealogical tables by Mr. Punnett[1]
would seem to show that the preponderance of males was 616
and is still greater among the Teivaliol than among the 847
Tartharol. The tables provide statistics roughly for four
generations. In the second of these,[2] the number of males 177
for every hundred females was 159·7 among the Tartharol, 259 among the Teivaliol. For the last generation, these numbers have sunk to 129·2 and 171 respectively. These figures almost certainly mean that female infanticide was more in vogue among the Teivaliol and is still practised by them to a greater extent than by the Tartharol.

This would seem to show that the Teivaliol have clung more closely to the old custom of infanticide and may be taken as an indication of the greater conservativeness of the priestly caste, but the Teivaliol chiefly occupy those parts of the hills furthest removed from the European settlements,

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[1] *Proc. Camb. Philos. Soc.*, 1904, vol. xii, p. 481.

[2] I neglect the first generation on account of the small number of families for which there are data.

174 and the greater freedom from external influence is probably
177 an important reason for the greater frequency of infanticide
616 among them at present, though it will not explain the greater
prevalence in the earlier generations.

847 The Teivaliol are now much the smaller of the two
184 divisions, the numbers at the most liberal estimate being less
than half of those of the Tartharol, and this difference is certainly of long standing. It may be due to original disproportion of numbers, but if female infanticide has long been more frequent among the Teivaliol, this might furnish a cause of their smaller population. It is perhaps significant in this connexion that the only extinct clan of which I have a record is a Teivali clan, the Kemenol, which is said to have become extinct about a hundred years ago, and the causes which led to its extinction may well have produced a great diminution of numbers in other branches of the Teivaliol.

that there is a close resemblance between the Toda language 174
and Malayalam, minus its Sanscrit derivatives.

The Todas claim that their diviners, who, when in their 197
frenzy, are believed to be inspired by the gods, speak the 198
Malayalam language, some clans speaking a language which
the Todas say is that of people they call Mondardsetipol,
living in Malabar. I do not know whether the Toda claim is
justified, but in any case the belief exists that the diviners
speak the languages of Malabar, and that these are the
languages of the gods. It is possible that in their beliefs
concerning the language of the gods the Todas may be
preserving a tradition of their mother-tongue, and if it could
be proved that the diviners actually speak the Malayalam
language the link with Malabar would be very materially
strengthened.[1]

The Todas believe that their dead travel towards the 174
West and are able to describe the paths by which they 775
pass. Here, again, there is some reason to think that people
may preserve in their beliefs about the passing to the next
world a tradition of the route by which their ancestors
travelled from a former home, and this may be so in the
case of the Todas.

Another fact linking the Todas with Malabar is the use 174
of the tall pole called *tadri* in the funeral ceremonies. This 177
pole is procured for the Todas from the Malabar side of the
hills by the Kurumbas, and I was told that suitable poles 437
only grew in Malabar, and the pole is adorned with cowries
which are also probably of Malabar origin. Other objects
burnt at the funeral, such as the boxes called *pettei* and the
umbrella called *miturkwadr*, are also procured from Malabar.
The use of objects in funeral ceremonies which are procured
from Malabar is suggestive, though, taken alone, it would
have little significance.

A fact which would perhaps be regarded by most as more 101
important is that there is now a settlement of the Todas at 361
Gudalur in the Wainad, on one of the routes from Malabar
to the Nilgiris. It seems clear that at one time the settlement 174

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[1] It is perhaps worth noting that at present only Teivali diviners are reputed to speak Malayalam.

The general type of the Toda character is most unvarying; singularly frank, affable, and self-possessed, cheerful yet staid: respectful; seemingly from a sense of conscious inferiority 157 rather than from an active principle: fearless, from small 181 cause for fear more than from the stimulus of a latent power of oppositiveness: communicative, yet watchful and shy, as if their natures impelled them to divulge what their natures also prompted them to maintain quiet: willing to take money,[1] yet accepting what is proffered with callousness, allowing it to lie on the ground or their children to play with it. In villages without an article *de luxe* beyond a few 177 women's ornaments, one may see naked children decorated 426 liberally with small coin. The investment was no doubt safe 674 round their necks and loins, but the very safety implies an absence of theft and violence, which is fully confirmed by the testimony of the law courts of the district. Their main crimes appear to consist in struggles to avoid payment of their debts for money borrowed on bonds from the Badagas.

According to superior notions, they are not a moral race; 183 yet a knowledge of many little facts that could not well be recorded, leaves the impression on my mind that they have certain limits in decent custom (well understood by them, though rarely primitive to our civilised conceptions of what is respectable) which are probably not often transgressed. I could not hope, without a far greater knowledge of the people than could be obtained except by residing long amongst them, to give anything approaching a just definition of their private ways. I fancy, however, that they are less bounded by acknowledged rule than by the gentleness and simplicity, though rude nature, of their character.

Though their intellect is of a very inferior order, and their 153 force of character extremely small, and no great man of

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[1] The Todas living in proximity to the houses of Englishmen, do not hesitate to importune for money with the greatest and most childlike pertinacity; yet if unsuccessful are not a bit disconcerted.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### FOOD.

*Diet—Kûtu—Badaga and Kota Neighbours prey on the Todas—Todas give away valuable Property—Not flesh eaters—Ceremony of eating Buffalo flesh—Don't drink Spirits—Children's Food—Family Meals—Grace before Meat—No Weapons of the Chase—No variety of Live Stock.*

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THE Todas have no sports or games, except the innocent tip
cat, corresponding in its play very much with our boys
524 game of rounders. No violent exercise. No means of settling
526 disputes by scientific personal conflict, as in wrestling, fencing
578 or boxing. Nothing in fact pointing to natural turbulence
411 of character and surplus energy. They wear no weapons of
204 offence or defence. They do not even hunt, either, for the
sake of providing themselves with food, or for the pleasure of
the chase.

241 They do not attempt to till the ground.

234 The products of the buffalo form the main staple of Toda
262 diet. No doubt, at some time or another, they depended upon
that animal more than they do now; in a period when they
177 were isolated from contact with agricultural races. Now they
262 are well supplied with the ordinary cereals of the country, as
437 rice, wheat, barley, varieties of the pea, millet and other
439 small grain, also sugar, salt, and tobacco; all of which items
427 are, and for many generations have been, either purchased
from the surrounding tribes by the barter or sale of their own
surplus nei, or obtained by the levy from their neighbours,

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the Badaga[1] tribe, of kûtu,[2] or tribute due to them as lords of the soil. This kûtu, which implies a permission to the Badagas to cultivate the land, is said[3] to be a certain portion 177 of the produce, varying from $\frac{1}{10}$ to $\frac{1}{6}$, and shows that the 262 Todas are the earliest *existing* race occupying the plateau of 437 the Nilagiri Mountains. 439

Each Toda Mand has a claim on certain Badaga villages 427 for their kûtu. Members of each family of the Mand go out in turn on a begging expedition to the village from which it is entitled to draw for support. And as no very accurate accounts are kept, either of the amount of kûtu due in any individual year, or of the quantity of grain which has already been supplied, this foraging stands with the Toda in lieu of sport, in so far as the uncertainty of the results is concerned; it being to the interest of the Badagas to postpone and shirk payment of grain as long as possible: whilst on the other hand, the state of the Toda stores, and his natural persistency combined, are urging him on to repeat the visits for the renewal of his granary. The result being that the Toda gets exactly as much grain as will just satisfy his actual necessities: the Badaga acquires land on cheap terms of rental.

Thus we find that these people have, for several centuries, been in the enjoyment of a considerable variety of nourishing and digestible articles of diet: probably as much in quantity, and nearly as great in variety, as most other races have access to: acquired too with the very smallest amount of personal labour; the mere tending of cattle.

From the fact of the strong similarity which is known to 174 exist between the Toda and Kanarese dialects; and of the 177 Badagas having followed the Todas from the hot plains of

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[1] Badagas, a Kanarese people of the Hindu faith.

[2] Kûtu. See Chapter VI., note 7.

[3] This statement was made in a Report, dated 1835, from Mr. J. Sullivan, collector of Koimbatore—in which district the Nilagiris lay—to the Government of Madras, in the Revenue department.

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174 177 the low country, into a district so cold, wild, and inaccessible as this must, by contrast, have appeared to them, we have strong presumptive evidence of the two tribes having, previous to their migration, long lived side by side, mutually dependent one on the other; the Todas, for the supply of grain they had not the energy to raise for themselves: the shrewd Badágas, for the nei which they obtained so easily from this most unmercantile people.

177 487 439 Similarly, another native tribe—the Kota—not so advanced as the Badaga, but more laborious, and thus skilled, than the Toda, followed the fortunes of this simple people on retirement to the Nilagiris; possibly influenced, amongst other motives, by knowledge of the fact that the live male buffalos, the carcasses of the females, and the skins and horns of both, were to be had almost gratis, so long as they maintained adherence to their old friends. Thus we see—no matter how primitive the stage of society, how microscopic the tribe—the universal mundane process at work; of the strong preying on the weak, and the clever on the stupid: races, like individuals, supporting themselves by utilising and depressing their simpler brethren.

> Big fleas have little fleas upon their backs to bite them;
> Little fleas have lesser fleas; and so on *ad infinitum*.

To what other cause but grievous national improvidence can we attribute their having acquiesced in promptings to part with an amount of meat sustenance, that would, if utilised, nearly double their food supply? And to permit skins and horns of vast herds—whose sale would have brought a very welcome addition to their revenue—to be removed as return payment for a little trumpery Kota music, and primitive ironmongery?

What the buffalo is to the Toda, so is the Toda to these slightly superior tribes; the milch-cow.

000 There is good reason for believing the Todas' assertion;

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

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The Todas state it, as a matter of tradition amongst them, that the time was when they subsisted largely upon roots. 137 262 They are even now partial, amongst others, to that which is known in India by the name of Salup Misri—orchis mascula—a terrestrial orchid which grows in great abundance on these hills. The woods also abound in edible varieties of wild-fruit—pôm—and herbs of sorts.

177 273 276 Intoxicating liquor or drug had never been utilised by these people prior to the arrival of the English. And tobacco is still a luxury.

262 862 Infants are nursed by their mothers, as a matter of general habit, for about three years: and it is not uncommon, for them to be still suckling when in the sixth year. Boiled millet or rice warmed in milk is a common article of diet for young children.

252 As a general rule, food is either eaten uncooked or boiled: but is sometimes baked or parched.

564 The Todas have no 'câste' prejudices; those Âryan fears of contamination which haunt the population of the plains, requiring that persons not of the precise same grade of life or family, should cook and eat apart: and which place obstacles to the intermarriage of those of different castes, as insuperable as if they were of foreign religions or nationalities.

264 Their two meals—which the women almost invariably cook—are eaten between the hours of 9 and 10 in the morning, and of 7 and 8 in the evening, in their little houses, but never in the dairy.

Men and women do not eat together at home, but the adult males of the family dine first, then the females. This as a matter of etiquette; which is not however so stringent as to preclude the women from eating before the men if there should be just occasion for them to do so. Children of both sexes have their meals either with the men or with the women. When one comes to consider the smallness of their houses and the primitive nature of their practices, one cannot

## CHAPTER IX.

### SAVAGE ANTITYPE.

*Cause of idleness of primitive Races—Their attributes—Toda qualities, and form of Cranium—The most primitive form of Skull—How to judge of Cannibal heads—Tylor, on the Development of the Human Race—Dolichocephali the natural Inhabitants of warm Zones: Brachiocephali the result of harsher circumstances—Endogamy and Dolichocephaly—Why pure Brachiocephali are not met with—Caste inimical to advance—Brachiocephaly the counterpoise to Dolichocephaly—Correlation between Brachiocephaly and Broad Shoulders.*

CHAP. IX.

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IT will no doubt appear phenomenal to many of my readers, much in the same way as surprise has been excited in myself; that notwithstanding the example of certain tribes living contiguous to the Todas, and cognate to them in blood as in the stage of their barbarism, who earn a living by various modes of occupation, pursuit, and industry, the Toda should persist in maintaining an isolation of idleness so complete, that not one of the many means which these other tribes have adopted for improving their circumstances, and none of the impulses to action by which they have been moved, should in the least have commended themselves to this remarkable people living in their very midst.

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The North-American Indian is well known to be receding before the advance of the white-man; from an inability to adapt his wild habits to the too-rapidly changing times, so absolute as to give the appearance of his having deliberately and proudly elected to accept extinction, rather than compromise with civilisation by altering the pristine customs of his race. And we greatly—and with much apparent justice—

CHAP. XII.

and information, he pointed direct to the west. 'Where the sun goes down'[5] he said. The quiet certainty with which he spoke,
772 then ceased to speak, was impressive, leaving a feeling of sad-
775 ness as from the vibrations of an air just played, or of 'a tale
821 that is told;' to think that the place of their future residence—where Toda shall, without fail, meet Toda—was known to them; that this man in his simple belief should be so clear on a subject which has engaged the religious mind of refined nations for ages in vain.

771 The Toda makes use of the word pâpum for sin, but I more than doubt if he has any word for hell. In reality neither one nor the other subject engages his attention. What has already been described, is his deep-grounded belief: any little matters, as sin and punishment, may be looked on as after-growths. He has also Gods—a little g should be sufficient for them—presiding over certain hills and villages, but he seems to know nothing about them. Spirits and ghosts—bhût—devilry and witchcraft—pilli—also occupy a position in his beliefs. But the Todas are not communicative on these or indeed on any subject connected with religion or the unseen. Most probably they have but little to tell; and superstitious dread of the invisible or half-known, prompts them to keep that little, dark.

192 A reference to the vocabulary, will show that most words
177 connected with what is commonly termed religion, are almost
771 pure Sanskrit: whilst those relating to the extraordinarily
174 simple practices in course of narration, are either much corrupted Sanskrit, or are free of Âryan influence. From these facts I deduce the possibility that prior to their migration into India, the Âryas of that era, when probably of a somewhat similar stage of culture to the Todas, may have influenced their rudimental religious proclivities. But that any ideas they now possess on religious subjects have come to them quite in modern times from Brahmanical sources; through

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[5] See note 2 of Chapter V.

CHAP. XII.

the Hindu Badagas, with whom they have for several generations
been on intimate terms: whose mode of worship they
have had opportunities of noticing: and with whom they have 172
often conversed on elementary religious topics. Thus, as I 177
have noted, they have seized on a few words, and the names 771
of a score of small Gods connected with maladies and diseases, 174
of whom they know nothing but their names; but without
having adopted a religion.

234 778 [198] chief gift of the Gods: and the fountain of all milk. Hence they hold the care and milking of these animals and the charge of the dairy, to be amongst the highest and most respected offices. The buffalo is treated with great kindness, even with a degree of adoration, by the people; scarcely touched with the light wands they carry, but guided and called by a sort of buffalo-language which they understand, and obey with some intelligence.

● 177 234 262 431 But they give away the young bulls to the Kotas. It has been a question whether or not they ever eat the flesh themselves, and I experienced much difficulty in ascertaining what I now believe to be the truth; that they part with the bulls, because, whilst they will not eat the flesh, they cannot permit them to crowd on land required for the grazing of the cows. That they do not sell them, may no doubt be in part attributable to the uncommercial nature of their dispositions. But I think it also possible that the Badagas and Kotas work on the sense of respect for the animal, which the Todas are known to entertain, to make it a custom not to dispose of the buffalo for money. Although it is certain that no Toda will eat buffalo flesh unless in part of the ceremonial described in Chapter VIII., yet, curiously enough, they do not hesitate to mortgage even the cows to the Badagas, though knowing that in such an act, the chance must always exist of the animal's being seized for the non-fulfilment of the terms of the bond; when of course it would be impossible to say what would become of them.

234 778 There exists a marked connection between the buffalo and the chief material objects to which any form of religious service is paid; viz., certain ancient cattle-bells, which originally came from amnôr, and though only cattle-bells—konku—yet by virtue of a great antiquity are now venerated as Gods, and styled konku Dêr or mani Dêr.[3] This is the Toda faith.

Every village drove does not own a bell, but certain bell-

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[3] Konku dêr = *bell-god*, maṇi dêr = *relic-god*. See Chapter XVII., note 6.

CHAP. XV.

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identity of character which forms the marked peculiarity of extremely primitive races, and common interests, are the watchwords. The whole tribe is of one mind, and as unchangeable in disposition as a herd of dumb animals.

A certain amount of superstitious, or shall we say religious, 272
regard is paid to the article *milk*, and in a less degree to the 778
honnu which holds it. Until of late years, milk would never 234
be adulterated. The honnu is tabued for ordinary purposes; indeed the people do not like it to be taken up carelessly; preferring that it be not touched at all. In this sensitiveness, one notices the feeling which has no doubt participated in forming some of the caste rules of the Âryas. As might be anticipated, the milk from the sacred herd is held in still greater reverence; the holy men of the tiriêri may consume as much of it as they please, but what is over *must be made into nei* before being sold; it must not leave the tiriêri in its natural form.

'The nei which we don't eat ourselves, I sell to the Badagas, 234
who in return supply me and my family with grain, clothes, 437
and a little money.' Very little of the last commodity pro- 793
bably. Thus as we observe, the inducement to become a pâlâl, 556
over and above the glory of position, is the profit from the sale of nei of the sacred drove. A very neat perquisite for 'the Sons of God,' with which to repair broken fortunes.

The pâlâl rarely leaves the tiriêri Mand, but he occasion- 177
ally visits the Badagas villages; obliging the people, through 793
influence of his supposed powers of witchcraft, and the great 754
sanctity attaching to his person, to comply with his demands 692
for little luxûries of food, and for the grain due to his tiriêri as kûtu. He has nothing whatever to do with births, marriages, or deaths, though he is sometimes consulted for the adjustment of disputes.

The funeral ceremonies of women and children are, I was
informed, the same as for men; fewer cattle are killed, and
764 perhaps not so large an assembly of folk are present, but in
other respects they are identical.

The carcases of the slaughtered cattle are left lying on the
● [177] ground. So soon as the place is clear, they will be carried off
by the Kotas, who have already assembled for the sake of
this meat.

765 Toda men sometimes shave their heads and beards as a sign
302 of mourning, though not often. Not so those of the Peiki
clan, because 'they perform sacred offices.' Women never cut
their hair off.

764 The cremation of the body is performed with the wood of
824 certain (seven) varieties of trees, whose names I do not know.
On showing samples of them, which had been collected for
me by a young man, to a pâlâl, he swept them aside with his
hand, implying that, compared with the tûde, which he
treated with great respect, they were as nothing.

# CHAPTER XXI.

## THE DRY FUNERAL.

*The burning of a Flute, Bow, and Arrows—The Dance—Scene with the Sacrificial Cattle—Again 'dust to dust'—Catching the Cattle—The Sacrifice—The Cattle-bell—No Priest concerned in the Ceremonies—Sprinkling of blood—Final burning of the Manes—The Kotas remove the dead Cattle.*

CHAP. XXI.

IF the first obsequies may be held to express feeling and
mournful sentiments for the deceased as true and sound
as any we exhibit in like circumstances; the ceremonies of 764
the bara kêdu or dry funeral may with equal justice be 765
looked on as partaking both of a propitiatory provisional
nature and of a commemorative festival character—as if performed with the object of speeding the general welfare of the friend gone to the unknown country: but in a style of show and hospitality somewhat commensurate with his worldly importance.

Hence we find the Todas congregate in considerable 765
numbers at the kêdu Mand, and display their ornaments on 177
these occasions: feeding also a large assembly of their own 533
and neighbouring tribes, conspicuous amongst which, the Kotas, who attend with much discordant piping or flageolet music (they are the musicians—save the mark!—of these hills). A very well-behaved multitude, but whose presence may be noted as readily by the nose as by other organs.[1]

In the very early morning of the first of a two days' 000

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[1] One now quite understands the value of the Toda expression, 'I see with my nose.' [192]

CHAP. XXI.

In the very, early morning of the first of a two days' ceremonial[1] and long before these guests have begun to arrive, the family of the deceased have a little private ordinance of
765 their own; in burning all his personal property, such as his stick
768 or staff, the honnu or milk vessel, and clothes: also a *flute*
177 or flageolet, and a model of *a bow with bamboo 'strings,' and arrows.*[1] I could not ascertain any reason whatever for this musical instrument and these spurious weapons being burnt. Be it particularly borne in mind that the Todas have no sense of music and do not possess a flute in the whole tribe: that they never hunt, and have no weapons of the chase. These toys are made by the Kotas entirely for the occasion. Thus it was, I experienced some difficulty in buying the bow, which will be found in photograph No. 15. The first question asked of the man who purchased it for me from the Kota, was 'Who is dead?'

765 The opening public ceremony of the day, is a kind of dance
535 performed by from twenty to fifty men. The dance I witnessed
801 was monotonous enough. It consisted of the body of men, keeping step whilst striding round and round like the spokes of a wheel; each spoke having three men arm in arm: and all exclaiming, rather than shouting, 'A! U! A! U!'[2] in time with their steps. I could trace nothing symbolic in the exhibition except that strange number three, which I notice in all religious matters, to be constantly appearing. It may be that the dance and shout are both merely a Toda mode of giving vent and expression to a festive state of mind.

765 Whilst this dance is being carried on by the men, the women prepare food in the hut described in the last Chapter, which has been repaired or renewed for this occasion. Here all the guests assemble, the two sexes sitting apart. The women of the family serve out the supplies from the diminutive door to

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[1] Captain Forsyth, in his 'Highlands of Central India,' writes of the Bygas, 'their bows are made entirely of the bamboo, "string" and all.'

[2] The Toda word for *I shout,* is 'A! U! bisharthken,' or *I call out A! U!*

[1] [i.e., the bara Kedu, or second funeral--Analyst]

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771

I incline to the belief that in any matters of religion beyond what I have described, they have been influenced through the proximity of cognate races, who themselves, again, have at different periods, been variously Hinduized or inoculated with the strange customs of other tribes in India, cognate or otherwise. Thus, through the Âryas, the Toda sense of adoration has been educated; more Gods have been introduced than he knows what to do with: and his natural love of relics has been intensified and improved. From being at first memorials of cattle herds, the relics have grown to be venerated souvenirs of ancestors. On the other hand, the mildness and contentedness of the tribe, have—so I think—led them to drop or to avoid much of the demonolatrous habit of other members of that Drâvidian race to which they belong. Certainly any superior ideas; any notions of the soul, or of sin, and all forms of invocation in prayer, small as even collectively they may appear to be, bear the appearance of their having come to them through the instrumentality of the Âryas; partly, no doubt, from Brahmanical sources: in part perhaps, in course of some very early contiguity, antecedent to the migration of either race, from a common cradle land, into India. Even the waste of good meat is to my mind suggestive of similar influences.

I will conclude this chapter in the words of Mr. Baring-Gould, which, applied to the Turanian state of progress, are equally descriptive of Toda culture. 'Impressed with a vague and child-like sense of the mysterious, it has not advanced into the idealising stage. God to the nomads of Northern Asia, is awful, undefined. They feel His presence about them, above them, and, with dazzled and bewildered mind, seek to know nothing more.'[8]

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[8] Baring-Gould, 'The Origin and Development of Religious Belief.'

847 I am well convinced that the old man spoke the strict truth in describing the practice of infanticide as a thing of the past; basing my belief, on the general appearance of things, rather than on statistics. (1.) If the custom still prevailed, the circumstance could not have remained hidden from the people of neighbouring tribes, with whom a very close degree of intimacy is maintained: and its commission forming a topic of conversation in their bazaars and meetings, the news would in due course certainly have reached our ears. (2.) The people sitting before us, in course of close examination as to the number and condition of their families, would undoubtedly have evinced by manner or voice, if at any time, we were approaching a dreaded and secret subject. (3.) Two, three, and even four living daughters were met with in families: and I may add, the girls looked in very good condition and as well cared for, as the rest of the household.

177 847 168 In the year 1822—or 48 years prior to the date of my census—the Government of Madras put a pressure on the Todas, in order to impel them to forsake their murderous practice.* But no statistics exist, and none can now be formed, that will afford us means of judging the actual state of the habit, anterior to that date.

847 In a previous chapter of this book—in that treating on the Census—the average age at which Toda women commence to bear children, is noted as 17 years. Those women therefore, who are 48 + 17 = 65 years old, must be the earliest who show the effect of the Government's repressive action. Hence it is, that we must look to the information regarding births and deaths which has been afforded by the mothers, rating from

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* Owing to a deficiency in the records of the Madras Government, we do not know how infanticide was actually stopped; but the orders given in its letter of 21st July, 1820, were to frustrate the practice 'by all means of encouragement and persuasion.' In carrying these orders into effect, I believe that the persuasion employed was of an impressive character.

The Badagas are Hindus, chiefly of the Saiva sect, and are supposed to have 101
migrated to the Nilagiris from Mysore, about 300 years ago, after the breaking-up of
the kingdom of Vijayanagar. According to the last Census they numbered 19,476. 177
They are an agricultural race, and cultivate various cereals of rather a poor sort.
They hold their lands under Government at very easy rates, and of late years many of
them have acquired considerable wealth, and own large herds of cattle. They pay a
sort of tribute, in grain, to the Todas. Their language is a corrupt form of Kanarese.

621 others. Each householder in the mand has his own cattle, which he can dispose of
absolutely, and their milk is kept for his use; but the whole mand herd graze together,
234 tended generally by the village *pūjāri* (priest), who milks them morning and evening in
the monsoon months, and morning only at other times. The milk of all is kept in one
dairy-house, which none may enter but the *pūjāri*.

Each family has a recognised head, in whose name the Government grazing
421 *pattā** is made out. On the death of the head the eldest son generally succeeds. One
428 old Toda, however, when I asked him which of his sons would take his place, replied,
"the wisest." (Compare *Menu*, Chap. IX., Sec. 117:—"Let the eldest have a double
592 "share, and the next born a share and a half, *if they clearly surpass the rest in virtue*
"*and learning*." Sir W. Jones' translation of the *Institutes* shows that the saving
clause of the above section is one of the numerous interpolations by which commentators
have attempted to harmonise *Menu's* precepts with modern practice. It is curious to find
the same qualification acknowledged by the Todas). The father's property is equally
divided among all his sons, but the house goes to the youngest, upon whom falls the
duty of supporting the females of the household.

181 The Todas are a purely pastoral people. They have large herds of buffaloes, and
depend for support on their produce, with the addition of the *gūdu*,† which they
177 levy in kind from Badagas and Kotas. Labour of any kind they hardly ever attempt;
651 indeed so entirely incomprehensible is the notion to them, that when, on one occasion,
an unlucky mistake about the ownership of some buffaloes committed an old Toda to
461 jail, it was found impossible to induce him to work with the other convicts, and the
authorities, unwilling to resort to harsh measures, were compelled to save appearances
by making him an overseer.

313 Of late years one or two have taken contracts to fell wood,‡ but the result has
not been satisfactory to the employers.

531 The women do a coarse kind of embroidery with blue and red thread procured from
the low country, for ornament to some of their cloths. They use the Nilagiri nettle for
294 stitching their cloths, and English needles; formerly their needles were made by the
Kotas. They also cook and fetch water, the men fetch firewood. Whether they live
262 entirely on grain and milk seems doubtful. They admit that they at one time used to
eat their male buffalo calves, but deny vehemently that they do so now, having
apparently imbibed from their Hindu neighbours an idea that the practice is disgraceful. It is suspicious, however, that the skins of buffalo calves are found in their

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* *Pattā*, commonly spelt *pattah* or *pottah*, is a document given by the Collector or Chief Revenue Officer of a district, however styled, to a landholder or other person having rights connected with the land, specifying the conditions on which the land is held, or the nature of the rights.

† *Gūdu*.—Name known among the Hill tribes for the annual gift of grain made by the cultivators to the Todas; said formerly to represent about $\frac{1}{10}$ or an $\frac{1}{8}$ or $\frac{1}{6}$ of the gross produce. *Gūdu*, Canarese for *basket, nest.* The Badagas, after threshing in their fields, bring the grain to the *Kēri* (terrace in front of their houses), and measure it off by baskets before they store it in the granary beneath the *Kēri*. One basket or *Gūdu* out of so many is set apart for the Todas.

‡ See letter to Government appended to Preface. It was said that some Todas worked on plantations, but on further inquiry this was found to be a mistake.—*Editor.*

" border. It is hung over the left shoulder, brought across the back, and forward 291
" under the right arm, the point being flung backwards over the left shoulder again,
" leaving the right arm at liberty, and allowing the folds to fall gracefully about the
" lower part of the person down to the knees." (*Plate* XI.)

* * * * *

" The female dress (*Plate* IV.) on ordinary occasions consists of a robe similar " to that of the men, though it is worn differently, being merely thrown over both " shoulders and clasped in front by the hand."

Singularly massive ornaments are worn by the women (*Plate* V.)[1] A pair of brass armlets worn on one arm above the elbow weighed 6 lbs. 301

The *Bēguri* (*Plate* XI.) is the only musical instrument they possess. It is a hollow bamboo with holes like a flute, and a piece of horn or wood at the lower end. The performer blows in at the top and produces a disagreeable sound, aggravated by the fluttering of a piece of paper inserted between the bamboo and the horn. 534 They are fond of singing, that is, of chanting in a monotonous drone apparently without words. To a European ear, however,— 533

" their song is death"
" And makes destruction please."

like that of the Sirens, but for a different reason. They dance in circles with clubs (*Plate* XI.), holding hands or linking arms, and marking time with shouts of *Hoh, Hoh.* 535

They generally greet Europeans with a simple salaam; sometimes with a sort of bow or military salute made in a courteous and dignified manner. 576 A Toda woman meeting a man salutes him by raising his feet one after the other to her forehead. An old woman, however, receives instead of paying this reverence. 609 A Badaga meeting a Toda lays his hand on the head of the latter. This, and the title *Māe*, father-in-law,* which is assigned to the Badagas, seems to imply some belief in the superiority of the latter. [illegible]

When Europeans came to the Hills under the auspices of Mr. Sullivan in 1820, to settle at Ootacamund and elsewhere, one of the first questions that arose, concerned the nature and extent of the Toda rights in the soil. *Tenure of land.* 177

The subject was discussed for years, during which no attempt was made by Government to have these rights ascertained and defined. 421 Ultimately, however, an inquiry took place, which, amidst a mass of correspondence, elicited the following noteworthy points:— 423 651

From as far back as our records extended, it appeared that the Todas had paid annually a light pasture tax for about 100 *Ballas* † of land, and 2 *Kantirâi fanams* ‡ for each buffalo, and had enjoyed the right of pasturing their herds over

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* A Badaga house is sometimes called *Pâlthchi*, like the Todas' temples.
† A *Balla* = 4 acres nearly.
‡ *Kantirâi fanam* = 0r. 4a. 8p. of present money.

[1] [Plate 5A -- Analyst]

177 421 423 651

an undefined extent of land. Further, the Badaga and Kota cultivators had always given them annually a portion of their field produce under the name of *gūdu*, but, "*whether out of superstitious motives, or to induce the Todas not to molest them, or in acknowledgment of their proprietary right in the land,*"* was uncertain.

This seems to be the case for the Todas.

On the other hand there is nothing in the Toda occupation which affects the universally acknowledged right of the Government to levy full assessment on all uncultivated land, when actually brought under tillage, a right which the Government had exercised without objection in the case of all lands cultivated by the Badagas and paying *gūdu* to the Todas.

The first step in the settlement of the matter was to declare in 1843 that the Todas had an absolute right in their mands or village sites and in the spots appropriated to religious rites, and had also a claim to compensation† for abridgment of their grazing privileges, but that purchasers from Todas could only buy the right of occupying the land *for* pasture. On this principle compensation was paid by Government for the area now forming the Ootacamund settlement. Subsequently, on further inquiry, in connexion with the survey of the Hills by Captain Ouchterlony, it was found that the Badagas generally were not disposed to admit the right of the Todas to demand *gūdu* from them at any specified rate, although they acknowledged the practice of giving *gūdu*, and their readiness still to give it "according to their own wants or fancy." It was found too that the Badagas had for some time past sold lands to Europeans and others without any mention of the *gūdu*, and that no claim had subsequently been urged by the Todas on the buyer. On inquiry into the extent of table land over which *gūdu* was claimable, it appeared that on the whole plateau of the Hills there were not more than about a hundred mands occupied and unoccupied, and that the pasturage rights of the Todas, in practice, only extended to the area surrounding each mand. Under these circumstances it was ruled that lands in the proximity of a mand or of spots appropriated to religious rites formed the grazing grounds of the Todas, but elsewhere unoccupied land might be given by Government on lease for building or agricultural purposes. Every lease, however, was to contain a stipulation that *gūdu* would be charged to the grantee, and added to the annual assessment, if it appeared to the satisfaction of the revenue authorities that *gūdu* was payable thereon. Subsequently, in 1863, sales by public auction were substituted for leases. Under orders from Government the revenue authorities have abstained from leasing, or putting up to public auction, land which could be said to be in inconvenient proximity to Toda

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* *Despatch from the Court of Directors to Madras*, dated 21 June 1843, No. 13.

† Compensation equivalent to the *Gūdu* was to be given, and added to the assessment when the land was taken and tilled; and in case the land so taken was a portion of that for which the Todas paid the pasture tax, in proportionate share of the tax was to be remitted.

In *Minutes of Consultation*, dated 7 May 1852, the *Gūdu* equivalent was fixed at 1 anna per Kāni (cawny). A Cawny = 1·32 acres.

177 mands, and I cannot find that in a single instance has *gûdu* been claimed* for lands
421 disposed of by Government.

423 Thus the rights of the Todas remain to the present day. They receive *gûdu* from the Badagas and Kotas, more or less according to the season and the means of the cultivator, and they
651 retain possession of their village sites and the surrounding lands under grazing *pattâs*, for which they pay two annas an acre in lieu of the taxes formerly levied.

They have an effective mode of extracting the *gûdu* from a refractory Badaga village without reference to law courts. Throughout the district, wherever Badaga cultivation has extended, the Todas have reserved the old sites of their mands and buffalo kraals,† and have persuaded the Badagas that these places, however long abandoned, and now surrounded with cultivation, are in some sense sacred. When a difficulty about the *gûdu* arises, the Todas, by way of an ultimatum, make ready the nearest abandoned mand for habitation. The prospect of having a herd of Toda buffaloes *kraaled* in the midst of their fields soon brings the Badagas to reason.

*Relig*
*Rites*
*Cere*

793 There are five kinds of priests, who rank as follows:—

234 I. *Pâlâls* (*Plate* XII.), who, according to the regular sequence of Toda ideas, are a mixture of ascetic and herdsman. They live at isolated mands called *Tiriaris*.

> "No female is allowed to go near the mand, nor can any man hold converse with "the Pâlaul without special permission, and then only at a considerable distance.
>
> * * * * *
>
> "Great sanctity attaches to the person of the Pâlaul in the eyes of his Toda brethren, "and he therefore exerts a powerful influence over their minds. They believe that "God dwells in him, and makes known His will through him to those who come to him "for counsel."‡

There are about nineteen *Tiriaris* occupied at certain periods of the year by five *Pâlâls*; two, whose head quarters are near Mukkurti Peak (*Plate* XII.), two near Nanjenâd, and one near Kodanâd. They have charge of sacred bells, which they carry from mand to mand. The *Pâlâls* must be Peikis; the *Tiriaris*, however, belong to certain Tarserzhâl mands, the inhabitants of which elect the *Pâlâls*, and furnish each with an attendant called a *Kavilâl*, who may be either a Peiki or Pekkan, and gets six rupees a year, his food, and a cloth, which however he may not wear when in immediate attendance on the *Pâlâl*.

The latter gets nothing but the milk of the sacred herd, which is kept for his use at the *Tiriari*; he holds office as long as he chooses, generally for three or four years. One is said to have been *Pâlâl* for fourteen years, but this is mentioned as something extraordinary.

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* *Proceedings of the Board of Revenue*, No. 4,740, 29 July 1863, and *Mr. Grant's Letter of* the 17th idem. "Provision was always made in the leases for payment of *gûdu*, and for a few years it was enforced. But "the amount did not exceed a few annas, and the Todas did not care to ask for it."

† *Kraal*, a circular enclosure, in which cattle are penned at night, surrounded by a rough stone wall.

‡ *Tribes inhabiting the Neilgherry Hills*, by Mr. Metz, p. 19.

3; Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

About Ootacamund a few Todas have latterly begun to imitate the religious practices of their native neighbours. In *Plate* XI. the right hand figure has his forehead smeared with ashes. Occasionally children's foreheads are marked with the Saiva spot, and my particular friend, Kinniaven, after an absence of some days, returned with a shaven head from a visit to the temple of Siva at Nanjanagudi. He assumed, however, the tone of an *esprit fort* on the subject, and said that his relatives believed in Nanjanda, and that he had gone to please them. 177 771

The only purely religious ceremony which the Todas have, is the *Kōna Shastra*, or annual sacrifice of a male buffalo calf. It may take place at any time of the year, apparently when it pleases the *pūjāri*. Any mand may celebrate the Kōna Shastra if the *pūjāri* is willing. The inhabitants of other mands of the same clan are duly invited. The calf, eight days old, is brought to a neighbouring *shola*. The Peiki *Varshâl* comes with three holy branches of the *Tūr* tree, and repeats the names of all the gods of the four divisions; then the calf is killed with a branch of the *Tūr*. The flesh must not be boiled, but roasted on a fire,* made by rubbing together two sticks of the *nerale*, *mullu*, or *kiss* trees, and eaten by the celebrants. Women cannot attend or partake of the feast. 996 621 173

The institution is *Māmūl*,† they say, and was ordained by Koten, their ancestor, by way of ensuring prosperity for themselves and their buffaloes.

Their domestic ceremonies are more elaborate and interesting. 944

I begin with those that are usual on the birth of a child.

As soon after birth as possible, a young buffalo calf is brought near the house; the father takes three small bamboo measures filled with water, and holding two of them close to the right side of the calf's hind quarters, pours the water from the third measure into the other two. 846

Two leaves of a tree are also brought; one is given to the woman, another held by the husband, who pours water from a measure into the leaf in his hand, and from it to that held by the woman.‡ The latter drinks and puts a drop into the child's mouth three times, after which the woman and child, accompanied by the husband, are removed to a separate hut (*Purshârsh*) outside the mand, where they remain till the next new moon.

When she returns to her own house, a similar ceremony is repeated with milk, and a Pekkan man must be called to milk the buffalo.

In mands containing a conical temple (*boa*), the *Purshârsh* is situated a long way off; in others it is close at hand.

When the child is a few months old, the father takes the child (if a boy) early in the morning to the door of the village *Pâlthchi*, and prostrates himself there. The maternal grandfather then names the child. No particular custom seems to determine the child's name, except that they say that all their names of men, as well as of their kraals and 553 551

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* Cf. *Exodus* xii. 9.

† *Māmūl* (custom) and *Shastra* (law or religion) are the invariable reply of a Toda when asked to give a a reason for his practices.

‡ A similar ceremony amongst the Brahmans is described by *Dubois* (*People of India*, p. 84). In this case the *Purohita* pours water into the hands of husband and wife, who drop part of it on their heads and drink the rest.

765 but on one occasion I saw some old gold coins and a silver medal of the Nilagiri District Exhibition of 1869. The ceremonies[1] occupy part of three days. The first is [77] devoted to belling the buffaloes. The Kota musicians are in attendance; crowds of Badagas and other natives come to see the ceremony; shopkeepers bring biscuits and [535] sweetmeats to sell, and the whole scene presents the aspect of a fair. Pending the arrival of the buffaloes, the Todas do a little dancing, escort monigars* or other [627] guests of importance in procession to the spot, chanting "Hoh! Hoh!" in the deepest bass possible to the human chest, hold Panchayats† for settling disputes, and [787] otherwise amuse themselves. Occasionally a man who is liable to inspiration, throws off his *pútkuli* and begins tramping up and down a line of Todas, shaking his head and trembling, while communicating the wishes of the god. On one occasion when I was there, no less than three went through this performance, professing to be possessed by Bêti Khân, the hunting god, who, however, seemed to have little to say beyond a lamentation, in the *laudator temporis acti* spirit, over the degeneracy of modern Todas as evinced by the decreasing number of buffaloes slaughtered. At last the herd of buffaloes, two or three for each of the dead commemorated, are driven up to the kraal, near which stands the funeral house. As the buffaloes approach the entrance, a crowd of young Todas, throwing off their *pútkulis*, rush into the kraal with them, seize them, and tie one or more bells to the neck of each, the women meanwhile weeping profusely. Ordinarily this finishes the ceremonial part of the proceeding, and the rest of the day is spent in eating and amusement; but on the occasion before alluded to, the buffaloes, distressed by their bells, made a rush at the wall of the kraal, and, in spite of the efforts of some Kotas, who fought valiantly for their next day's [578] dinner, five of them escaped, and had to be followed a mile or two and brought back. This untoward event further induced a quarrel between the Peikis and Todis, one of the former having in his excitement struck a Todi, who left the place in dudgeon, and was not appeased till many influential processions and much Kota music had been lavished on him.

[535] The second day's ceremonies are the most important. The young men spend the morning in dancing in the kraal, to the great annoyance of the buffaloes. Every now [536] and then three or four single out a particular buffalo and seize it, hanging on by the neck and horns, hold it for a few moments, and release it. This requires some nerve in the leader of the party, as he makes the first rush alone, and may be thrown down and trampled on before the others come to his assistance. Even when three or four are hanging on together, a buffalo will sometimes lift them all off their feet.

This, however, is only by way of passing the time; the actual ceremonies are begun by placing the *kéd*, wrapped in a new *pútkuli*, on the ground within the stone wall surrounding the *kédmane*. Fifteen or twenty men stand round it, shouting "*Hah! hoh! ár kar ullamâ,*" ("May the buffaloes and calves be well,") or words of that kind; and one after the other lays his right hand on the *kéd*, covered by the *pútkuli*, and bows so as to touch it with the forehead. The *kéd* is then carried to the entrance of the cattle kraal, where a hole has been dug, and where the relatives and

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* *Monigar*—properly *maniyakâran*, the head man of a village.

† *Panchâyat*, a native court of arbitration consisting of five or more members, usually chosen by the parties themselves for the settlement of petty disputes.

[1] [of the second or "dry" funeral -- Analyst]

765 they walk to another stone near the Kêdmane in procession, shouting "Hoh Hoh," the Peiki with the bow in the middle, and the *Varzhâl* in front, carrying the leaf vessel, out of which he takes two pieces of bark at intervals, throwing one behind him and another before him. The calf is dragged to this stone and let loose, when they all run after it, throwing themselves down at intervals so as to touch the ground with their foreheads, and shouting

*Amunâdga Sêrumâ*
*Karma dharma tilimâ.*

which may be rendered, "May he enter heaven, may it be well with his good deeds "and his sins."

The Peikis and Pekkans do not sacrifice a buffalo, nor loose a calf at the dry funeral, but at the next new moon they slaughter a male buffalo, and bringing the blood in a leaf vessel to the *kêdmane*, sprinkle it on the kraal and the *Āzāram*.

765 The ceremonies are hardly concluded, before the Kotas descend upon the carcases of the buffaloes like so many vultures, and hack them to pieces, screaming and ● 177 squabbling over the spoil, and carrying off the flesh in great lumps to their homes. 609 It is curious that the Todas, to whose relatives the dead animals are consecrated, make no objection to this disgusting operation, though carried on at the very door of the *Kêdmane*. I asked a Toda once about it, and he replied, "*When the buffaloes are "alive they are ours; when dead they belong to the Kotas.*"

765 The *Kêd* is burnt about four o'clock on the following morning (they say the burning must be completed before dawn) at the *Āzāram*,* a single circle of large stones fixed in the ground not far from the Kêdmane. They first light a fire outside the *Āzāram*, and then spread the *pútkuli* with the *kêd* in the middle of the circle, and pile burning sticks on it until, with the help of ghee, they make a great blaze. They put on the inside fire the following articles:—

A *Kâf Kutti*, a sort of large knife or sickle wrapped round with cloth.
An axe.
Twenty-one bamboo measures ornamented with cowries, two anna bits, and coloured threads, and containing barley, kîre, and sâme grain.
Four or five cakes of jaggery.
A winnowing basket.
A basket for holding rice.
Three or four Toda walking sticks.
A straight pole (*Tarzh*) 20 feet long, ornamented with tassels and rosettes of cowries, and sometimes with a small silver umbrella. (*Plate* XI., *fig. b.*)
A palm-leaf umbrella.
A miniature bow and three arrows.† (*Plate* XI., *fig. a.*)
A purse.

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* I could not ascertain with any certainty whether these stone circles, which are always to be found near the funeral mand, had been constructed in recent years or were of considerable antiquity. Their appearance, however, did not suggest any great age. From the Todas whom I questioned on the subject, it was very difficult to elicit any definite information; but the impression which their answers conveyed, was, that now and then they construct new circles, when they consider that the old ones have been used long enough.

177 † I am told that these are burned at the green funeral when the Kotas have time to make them, but they must not be made beforehand, or the man for whom they were intended would die; and as the Kotas will only 761 work, and the Todas only burn on certain days, it must frequently happen that the two do not coincide.

174 long ago deserted, some of which by the girth of the trees which have since grown up in them, have evidently been abandoned for centuries.

● 177 It would appear that the Todas have always maintained some intercourse with the
western coast, as the cowrie necklaces of the women imply. The earliest notice of
439 them I know of, is to be found in the Journal of the Archbishop of Goa, Aleixo de
175 Menezes; Coimbra, 1606, the following extract from which has been kindly furnished
me by Dr. Gundert:—

175 "From Malabar the Vicars' regular report, from their hitherto neglected and paganised churches, came in to Goa (in 1599). At this time two Cattanars had been to Todamala in the country of the Zamorin, 50 leagues distant from the furthest churches. There (in Todamala) there are still Christians, who speak a language different from the Malabar language. They call their god 'Bidi'* (=fado, fatum). They have a Trinity of persons, viz., an old man, a youth, and a small bird. They say Thomas taught them, but because the king of Mylapūr killed all Christians, they took refuge on these mountains, that there their Cattanars have died, their books have been lost, and all idea of God has disappeared, but still they have a picture very much injured of that Trinity. The objects of that picture they try to keep in mind. They knew that in Cochin there were people of their own caste, on which account they called the two Cattanars brothers, and summoned men and women together to hear them, when the Cattanars explained from the picture the Trinity to the people. The Jesuit Roy was very glad of this report, and spoke of it as not a singular instance. In other places also (near the hills) remains of former Christian congregations were discovered. He (Roy) became Bishop of Angimale in 1601, and Archbishop of Cranganore in 1605."

This report seems to have led to further investigations, as we find by the following abstract of a manuscript in the British Museum kindly furnished me by the Reverend Mr. Whitehouse:—

At the synod of Udiamparūr in the state of Cochin,† held under Archbishop Menezes in 1599, information having been received that there were certain villages of Christians in a country called Todamala, who anciently belonged to the Syrian church of Malabar, but then had nothing of Christianity except the bare name, it was ordered that priests and preachers should be sent thither immediately to redeem them to the Catholic faith, baptise them, &c. Francisco Roy, the first Roman Catholic Bishop of the Syrian Christians, in 1602 sent a priest and deacon of the Christians of St. Thomas with a good guide to find out the place and collect information. They reached the Todamala; but, as the account brought back by them, was not so sure and complete as was desirable, Bishop Roy requested the Vice-Principal of the Jesuits to depute a priest of his own order to make further inquiries. The Rev. Jacome Ferreiri was selected for this mission. He started from Calicut, the place of his residence, and was permitted to return safely, after undergoing great exposure and fatigue, with a good deal of information about the hill tribes, their manners and customs, but with no tidings of any Christian colony, which had either become extinct or removed elsewhere, if it had ever been there at all.

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* Dr. Gundert says, "Bidi or Vidhi is a well-known name of Brahma."

† Todamala is included in a list of Christian churches given in Assemani Bibl. Orient., but this only refers to the date of this same synod.

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 Aw60 Toda Aw60
Kota Aw55

are only to be seen at some little distance, generally in parties of ten or twelve, and invariably retreat on the approach of strangers. They attracted the attention of my party by howling in the most unearthly tones, from a rising ground several hundred yards from the road. Looking at them through the glass, they were seen to be miserably thin and wretched-looking creatures of the wildest possible aspect. By the advice of a Hindoo *kotwal*, I put down a few *annas* on a rock by the roadside, for which, as soon as we were at a safe distance, they raced down howling and chattering like so many wild beasts. 000

Cock sacrifice is practised by these people also, and no doubt many interesting customs and rites might be discovered if properly investigated; but I must not digress from my subject; my only reason for thus incidentally mentioning either of these tribes is to show what material exists for inquiry among the tribes of Southern India, whether on the hills or on the plains.

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To return for a moment to the former, I may add in conclusion that the Todas and Khotas of the present day are unfortunately degenerating. Both tribes are, I think, naturally capable of considerable improvement, both mentally and morally, but, so far as I saw, and especially in the case of the former, their contact with the European has hitherto produced only its too common results, intoxication, licentiousness, and cupidity, threatening to add to the long list of so-called uncivilised races that the white man has assisted to demoralise.

648 others who had been employed, not with conspicuous
464 success, on planters' estates. The Todas consider it
461 beneath their dignity to cultivate land. A former
[241] Collector of the Nīlgiris granted them some acres of
land for the cultivation of potatoes, but they leased the
land to the Badagas, and the privilege was cancelled.
In connection with the Todas' objection to work, it is
recorded that when, on one occasion, a mistake about
the ownership of some buffaloes committed an old Toda
to jail, it was found impossible to induce him to work
with the convicts, and the authorities, unwilling to resort
to hard remedies, were compelled to save appearances
562 by making him an overseer. The daily life of a Toda
512 woman has been summed up as lounging about the mad
or mand (Toda settlement), buttering and curling her
hair, and cooking. The women have been described
[157] as free from the ungracious and menial-like timidity of
[171] the generality of the sex in the plains. When Europeans
177 (who are greeted as swāmi or god) come to a mand,
609 the women crawl out of their huts, and chant a monotonous
[735] song, all the time clamouring for tips (inām). Even
the children are so trained that they clamour for money
till it is forthcoming. As a rule, the Todas have no
objection to Europeans entering into their huts, but on
more than one occasion I have been politely asked to
take my boots off before crawling in on the stomach, so
as not to desecrate the dwelling-place. Writing in 1868,
114 Dr. J. Shortt makes a sweeping statement that "most
177 of the women have been debauched by Europeans, who,
164 it is sad to observe, have introduced diseases to which
these innocent tribes were once strangers, and which are
slowly but no less surely sapping their once hardy and
vigorous constitutions. The effects of intemperance and
disease (syphilis) combined are becoming more and more

apparent in the shaken and decrepit appearance which at the present day these tribes possess." Fact it undoubtedly is, and proved both by hospital and naked-eye evidence, that syphilis has been introduced among the Todas by contact with the outside world, and they attribute the stunted growth of some members of the rising generation, as compared with the splendid physique of the lusty veterans, to the results thereof. It is an oft-repeated statement that the women show an absence of any sense of decency in exposing their naked persons in the presence of strangers. In connection with the question of the morality of the Toda women, Dr. Rivers writes that "the low sexual morality of the Todas is not limited in its scope to the relations within the Toda community. Conflicting views are held by those who know the Nilgiri hills as to the relations of the Todas with the other inhabitants, and especially with the train of natives which the European immigration to the hills has brought in its wake. The general opinion on the hills is that, in this respect, the morality of the Todas is as low as it well could be, but it is a question whether this opinion is not too much based on the behaviour of the inhabitants of one or two villages [*e.g.*, the one commonly known as School or Sylk's mand] near the European settlements, and I think it is probable that the larger part of the Todas remain more uncontaminated than is generally supposed."

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I came across one Toda who, with several other members of the tribe, was selected on account of fine physique for exhibition at Barnum's show in Europe, America and Australia some years ago, and still retained a smattering of English, talking fondly of 'Shumbu' (the elephant Jumbo). For some time after his return to his hill abode, a tall white hat was the admiration of his fellow Tribesmen.

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[554]

177 fellow tribesmen. To this man finger-prints came as no novelty, since his impressions were recorded both in England and America.

212 Writing in 1870,* Colonel W. Ross King stated that
191 the Todas had just so much knowledge of the speech of their vassals as is demanded by the most ordinary requirements. At the present day, a few write, and many converse fluently in Tamil. The Nilgiri C.M.S. Tamil
797 mission has extended its sphere of work to the Todas, and I cannot resist the temptation to narrate a Toda version of the story of Dives and Lazarus. The English say that once upon a time a rich man and a poor man died. At the funeral of the rich man, there was a great tamāsha (spectacle), and many buffaloes were sacrificed. But, for the funeral of the poor man, neither music nor buffaloes were provided. The English believe that in the next world the poor man was as well off as the rich man; so that, when any one dies, it is of no use spending money on the funeral ceremonies. Two mission
797 schools have been established, one at Ootacamund, the
871 other near Paikāra. At the latter I have seen a number of children of both sexes reading elementary Tamil and English, and doing simple arithmetic.

797 A few years ago a Toda boy was baptised at Tinnevelly, and remained there for instruction. It was hoped that he would return to the hills as an evangelist among his people.† In 1907, five young Toda women were baptised at the C.M.S. Mission chapel, Ootacamund. "They were clothed in white, with a white cloth over their heads, such as the Native Christians wear. A number of Christian Badagas had assembled to witness the ceremony, and join in the service."

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* Aboriginal Tribes of the Nilgiri Hills.

† Madras Diocesan Magazine, November, 1907.

a cloth, which he at once recognised as having something 147
to do with the Todas.

In former times, a Badaga could be at once picked 292
out from the other tribes of the Nilgiri plateau by his 177
wearing a turban. At the present day, some Toda
elders and important members of the community (*e.g.*, [554]
monegars or headmen) have adopted this form of head-gear. The men who were engaged as guides by Dr. Rivers and myself donned the turban in honour of their appointment.

Toda females are tattooed after they have reached 304
puberty. I have seen several multiparæ, in whom the absence of tattoo marks was explained either on the ground that they were too poor to afford the expense of the operation, or that they were always suckling or pregnant—conditions, they said, in which the operation would not be free from danger. The dots and circles, of which the simple devices are made up,* are marked
out with lamp-black made into a paste with water, and [386]
the pattern is pricked in by a Toda woman with the spines of *Berberis aristata*. The system of tattooing and decoration of females with ornaments is summed up in the following cases:—

1. Aged 22. Has one child. Tattooed with three [531]
dots on back of left hand. Wears silver necklet orna-
mented with Arcot two-anna pieces; thread and silver [301]
armlets ornamented with cowry (*Cypræa moneta*) shells on right upper arm; thread armlet ornamented with cowries on left forearm; brass ring on left ring finger; silver rings on right middle and ring fingers. Lobes
of ears pierced. Ear-rings removed owing to grand- [765]
mother's death.

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* *See* Madras Museum Bull., IV, 1896, pl. XII. [113]

At four in the morning we wrap rice and grain in a white cloth, and burn it. 539
At eleven we cut the hair of the boys and girls.
At four in the morning the priest goes to the temple (dairy). 539 793
He lights the lamp.
At eight he milks his buffaloes.
He puts on no cloth.
He places butter and ghī before the god.
Then he grazes his buffaloes, and eats his food.
Then he puts on his cloth.
At three in the afternoon he goes again to the temple.
He kindles a fire, and lights the lamp.
He puts milk in a chatty, and churns it into butter with a cane.
He mixes water with the butter-milk, and gives it to the women to drink.
He alone may sleep in the temple.
At four in the morning he lets out the buffaloes to graze.
At seven he milks them.
The woman's house is down the hill.
The priest must not go in unto the woman.
He may not marry.
When he is twenty, he may not enter the temple.
Another is made priest in his stead. 771

The religious institutions of the Todas, including the 114
elaborate dairy ritual, and their religion, are described
in full detail by Dr. Rivers. The Todas have been to 771
some extent influenced by Hinduism, and some visit the 177
temples at Nanjengōd in Mysore, Karamadai in the 788
Coimbatore district, and other shrines, whereat they
worship, present votive offerings, and pray for offspring,
etc.

771 etc. Writing in 1872, Mr. Breeks remarked that
177 "about Ootacamund, a few Todas have latterly begun to imitate the religious practices of their native neighbours. Occasionally children's foreheads are marked with the Siva spot, and my particular friend Kinniaven, after an absence of some days, returned with a shaven head from a visit to the temple of Siva at Nanjengudi."
302 A man who came to my laboratory had his hair hanging down in long tails reaching below his shoulders. He had, he said, let it grow long because his wife, though married five years, had borne no child. A child had, however, recently been born, and, as soon as the second funeral of a relation had been performed, he was going
[782] to sacrifice his locks as a thank-offering at the Nanjengōd
[788] temple. The following extracts from my notes will serve to illustrate the practice of marking (in some instances apparently for beauty's sake) and shaving as carried out at the present day.

(1) Man, aged 28. Has just performed a ceremony at the ti mand. White curved line painted across fore-
[531] head, and dots below outer ends thereof, on glabella, and outside orbits. Smeared with white across chest, over outer side of upper arms and left nipple, across knuckles and lower end of left ulna, and on lobes of ears.

(2) Man, aged 21. Painted on forehead as above. Smeared over chest and upper eye lids.

[531] (3) Man, aged 35. White spot painted on forehead.

(4) Man, aged 30. Hair of head and beard cut
[765] short owing to death of grandfather.

(5) Boy, aged 12. Shock head of hair, cut very short all over owing to death of grandfather.

(6) Girl, aged 8. Hair shaved on top, back and sides of head, and in median strip from vertex to forehead.

551 [614] patrilineal sib. Only one name is borne by each individual. Rivers[2] mentions the fact that, if two individuals bear the same name, one of them will change his name. Such identity of name is avoided merely to escape confusion and misunderstanding. Identical names can seldom occur among men for reasons that will be clear later in this paper. They are more likely to occur among women. One recent case is that of two women who were named sondaritdz. One of these is the daughter of iımuıxfuın (19, Imokhvan)[3] and she retains the name in this form. The other is the daughter of midzxŭuıṛ (63, Midjkudr); she is usually called sonduır to distinguish her from the other, though her full name may still be used when there is no possibility of confusion.

778 771 234 §3. To make clear the background of the naming system it is necessary to clarify the religious system of the Todas. Each sib possesses a number of munds,[4] which are essentially holy places or gods with dwelling houses attached. The holy place or god is the localized dairy-complex, all the elements of which are holy. The elements are the sacred buffaloes (as opposed to the non-sacred buffaloes), the dairies, and the milk of the buffaloes. No further localization of the divinity appears to be made within the complex. All the contents of the dairies, bells, tools, coagulant (called pep), partake to some degree of the holiness of the complex, and, like the buffaloes and the milk, must not be profaned by contact with profane persons; but it cannot be discovered that any object or place is especially the seat of the divinity. Linguistic evidence has made it clear that this is correct. In both songs and [192] speech the mund (excluding the dwelling houses) is referred to as töŭ "god" or noıṛ "sacred place" or by the compound töŭnoıṛ, and my informants can make no distinction between these terms, or between mod "mund" and 776 778 [177] noıṛ when these two form a pair in the songs.[5] These divinities are to some extent anthropomorphic, since it is said that all the gods, including the gods of the Hindu pantheon worshipped in the plains, the Toda gods who are mountains and rivers of the Nilgiris, as well as the god ōın who lives in the world of the dead, and the gods who are the munds, i.e. the töŭnoıṛ, hold assemblies to settle their disputes in the dairy of the mund mymj.

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[113] [2] W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas* (London, 1906), p. 625. He has a chapter on "Personal Names," pp. 619–27.

[3] The number of the genealogical table in Rivers and the spelling of the name in the table will be given for each individual mentioned.

[192] [4] Toda terminology applies the word mod to (1) the sib as a whole, (2) each separate dairy institution plus a dwelling place which belongs to the sib, and in several other ways which are not in point here.

[113] [5] For the technique of the songs, see my paper, *The Songs of the Todas* (Proceedings, American Philosophical Society, Vol. 77, pp. 343–60, 1937).

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551 §9. The frequent suffix -küɯṭṇ has defied analysis. Rivers[8] thought that it was connected with the word for "horn," but the difference in the quantity of the diphthongs makes it unlikely, and my informants refuse to recognize any connexion between the two. It may be added to a word, as in puɯtʃofxüɯṭṇ (a son of sirjaɪr 20)<puɯtʃof, a mountain near the mund toɪroɪṛ, or it may be substituted for another suffix, as in tɯɪpɯɪsxüɯṭṇ (20; referred in §6)<tɯɪpɯɪsforü, the kogfoɬj dairy at toɪroɪṛ; kæɪnxüɯṭṇ, son of toɪliɾθj and nertnɯɪs (24, Tòleidi and Nertiners)<kæɪnaɬf, the üɯsoɬj dairy at the mund karkos. A son of küaṛoɪn of the pɯrgoɪṛoɬ (34, Kwodron) is named asojxüɯṭṇ<asojɯr, the buffaloes of the tiɪ of this sib.
[177] köɪkisjxüɯṭṇ (20, Kekarikutan, which represents the Toda form of the Badaga name of another man kekæɪrjxüɯṭṇ in table 25)<köɪkisjxuḍd, the name of buffalo-track (kuḍd) leading to the mund toɪroɪṛ.

§10. Another frequent suffixal element is -fɯn; e.g. in karoṛfɯn (21, Karadrvan)<karoṛθɯṭ, name of a mountain (tɯṭ) near toɪroɪṛ; ɯṛküɯɪṛfɯn (24, Idrkudrvan)<ɯṛküɯɪṛfaɪɯ, a river (paɪɯ) near Mt. karoṛ; puɯtʃefɯn (24, Pachievan)<puɯtʃof, a mountain near toɪroɪṛ (cf. puɯtʃofxüɯṭṇ in §9); kergæɪrfɯn (25, Kerskedrvan)<kergæɪrfaɪɯ, a stream near the mund paʃtaɪr; asojfɯn<asojɯr, the buffaloes of the tiɪ belonging to the pɯrgoɪṛoɪɬ, is another name of poɪtɯṣ (35, Patirsh; cf. asojxüɯṭṇ in §9); mupuɪfɯn (16, Mopuvan)<mupuɪf, the conspicuous mountain, called Staircase by the English. This element may be added to
[888] the name of any old man, apparently as a mark of respect, e.g. pæɪθoɪɬ or pæɪθoɪɬfɯn, kæɪnodz or kæɪnodzfɯn; and many names which have this final element may also appear without it in familiar speech. Rivers was told that the suffix is the same as the word for the stone circles on the summits
[114] of some hills, but the Toda word for these circles is mɯn, which cannot be connected with the suffix. The word pɯn, which is the only possibility,
[192] means "gold, the gold bangle kept in a dairy; the privates of a small girl; afterwards" and none of these meanings seems to be appropriate, except possibly the first.[9]

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[83]
[553] her by stealth; each will hide in the bushes and wait for her to come to him. It is undoubtedly the erotic language that suggests this second meaning. The phallic bearings of the passage are obvious.

Other passages which can be interpreted as containing sexual symbolism, either conscious or unconscious, will be available when my complete collection of song-texts is published.

[8] Rivers, *op. cit.*, p. 619.

[9] In case sexual symbolism should be looked for here, I observe that caution must be used.
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192 The three meanings given for pɯn belong to three South Dravidian words which have quite distinct phonetic forms in most of the other languages, and it may be found that the suffix -fɯn derives from still a fourth distinct phonetic entity. Until the historical grammar of Toda

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[553]
paɪrθoʈj near the mund karkos. edzen (22, Idjen) < iɪdzfal, a valley near the mund poʃtaɪr; this man was afterwards called küarxas, from a rocky ground near the mund tæɪlgüɯɪr, since there was another man called edzen. natylj (25, Natuli) < kinxatylj, a rocky ground with a deep pool near the mund poʃtaɪr; kinxatylj = "small (kin)-stone (kas)-deep pool (tylj)," and natylj = "beauty (nas)-deep pool (tylj)." I could not discover that natylj was ever regularly applied to this locality. tæɪθjxæɪn (see §6) is said to be a combination of tæɪθj and kæɪn, a brother of tæɪθj who is not found in the genealogical tables. The latter name is derived from kæɪnalf, cf. kæɪngüɯʈŋ (§9) and kæɪnodz (§13) and see §7 for the process of formation. The formation of a name by the combination of two others is unusual but it is paralleled in pmlkiɪθj, for which see §12.

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§17. Practically all the names analyzed above are derived by one process or other from names or küasm of things or places closely associated with the sib in each case. Another class of names of men derives from the names of gods of the Hindu pantheon or from temples, if a vow was made to these gods or temples for the birth of a child. So sirjaɪr in §14. Others are
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moɪronɯs, a son of töθuxn (23, Teitukhen), named from the goddess moɪramn, i.e. Mariamma; noɪxoroɪdzn, a son of sirjaɪr (table 20), < noɪxuɪr "Nagore" or noɪxuɪrxuʈj "the temple at Nagore" with roɪdzn "king." The famous mosque at this place is treated by the Todas exactly as if it were a Hindu temple, an interesting example of the syncretistic tendencies of an illiterate and untutored Indian community. This name seems to have been influenced phonetically by the word noɪxor or noɪxoroɪf "cobra."

§18. Two names of Hindu divine figures, who do not possess any temples known to the Todas, are known to me. The first is ardʒoŋ "Arjuna" (25, Kagerikutan); the representation of Sanskrit ṅ by Toda ŋ is a sporadic and irregular change. This name is also shortened to ardʒ. The other name is idjoɪn (a son of tæɪpax, table 20). This is from idroɪdzn "king (roɪdzn) Indra (id)." One of the Toda gods appears in öɪngüɯʈŋ (20, Enkutan); öɪn, the god who lives in the world of the dead, is not especially associated with any sib. One of the semi-mythical heroes küatöü, who belonged to the sib of the melgaɪsoɪl, had another name mæɪltarz, which is now borne by a man of this sib (44, Meilitars).

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§19. I know of one case of a Toda who was given the name of a Hindu of another community, viz. koɪntsarz, a son of kæɪnodz (table 21), who was named after the Maharaja of Mysore's maternal uncle Kāntarāja Arasu, formerly Diwan of the states and known popularly in Mysore as Kāntarasu. (arz is the Toda representation of Kannaḍa arasu, which appears in the names of members of the Maharaja's house and is Englished as Urs; it

also means "Englishman, European in general." It may be that the Tamil *arasan* is also concerned in the origin of the Toda word, but in that case we should expect final -n to remain.). It is to be expected that names of Badagas might be adapted, and perhaps such cases occur, but I have no record of any. 551 177

§20. One name that I know of has reference to an incident in the life of a man's father. udjoːsn (34, Udiosan) was made from udj "a government appointment" and oːsn "he who became," since when this man was born, his father held an appointment as a forest-ranger. 551 554

§21. Many of the examples given above are names of men of the toːroːɽoːɭ sib. In order to give a comprehensive view of all the names of one sib, I collect those here with references to the paragraphs where they are treated above and add all those that have not yet been mentioned. A few names given in Rivers' tables of this sib are not remembered by my informants, either because they belonged to children who died before they made any mark in the tribal life, or because the taboos on the names of the dead have caused them to be forgotten. I mark with an asterisk those names that follow the norm of derivation from names of places, objects, etc., connected with the sib. 551 614

RIVERS' TABLE 20

*tæːθj (§12)
*tɯsiːθj (§12)
*tɯŋpiːθj (§12)
*nöːrnɯːs (Narsners)<ɯnöːrof, the second küːsm of the mund tæːlgüɯːr (see nertnɯːs, §11)
*mɯːḍbiːθj (§12)
*ertaiːθj (§12)
*kakaːr (§7)
*tæːpax (Teipakh)<tüɯːθæːpax, a pen at the mund toːroːɽ
sirjaːr (§§14,17)
*tæːfxüɯːɽ (Tavkudr)<Mt. tæːf near toːroːɽ, "he who has horns as tall as Mt. tæːf" (cf. §8)
*kiːθjmuɽj (§7)
*paːŋxüɯːr (Pankudr)<paːŋḍüɯːl, two pens, one at toːroːɽ, one at *karkoːs* (cf. §8)
*köːkisjxüɯːʈɳ (§9)
*æːdʒ, son of kakaːr,<æːdʒalxuːʈ, a ravine near poʃtaːr (cf. §7)
idjoːm (§18)
nasoːm (§14)
*tɯːpæːrxüɯʈɳ (§§9, 15)

of female-denoting significance, is -iɪdz. E.g. ɑrliɪdz (3, Arlidz) is derived 551
by this suffix from ɑrl "small pebbles used in playing jackstraws or as 193
counters in reckoning accounts." This woman was born in the sib of the
noɪʂoɪɬ; it was at noɪʂ that the goddess töɪkisj performed her acts of creation 551
and divided up the Todas into sibs and assigned buffaloes to the sibs. In the 193
songs when this is referred to, a usual pair of phrases is: 619

maxɑrxoj potsɯθnoɪr 773
first-hand where (she) placed-sacred place [533]
maxɑrɑrl oɪkjɯθnoɪr
first-pebbles where (she) set out-sacred place

i.e. "(noɪʂ) the sacred place where töɪkisj in the beginning laid on her hand
and set out pebbles in making the divisions." It is clear that ɑrl in the
woman's name was used because of the association of her father's sib with
töɪkisj, and it is probably significant that no other name has been discov-
ered with this element. Another name with this suffix is moṇiɪdz (7, 551
Manidz); moṇ "soil, owned land" is a member of several pairs in songs— 193
iṇefæɪdʒ, moṇefæɪdʒ "quarrels (pæɪdʒ) about women (iṇ, a Badaga word) 533
and land;"

iṇexɯaɪʈ kotjaθik
woman-bungalow you built
moṇexöɪr kertaθik
earth-pool you dammed

i.e. "though a woman, you built a fine house and dammed with earth a pool to supply water." tɑrmiɪdz (44, Termidz) < tɑrm "alms" (indirectly from Sanskrit dharma) has in mind the passage in the songs where a woman is praised for her alms-giving. nɯɯɪʈiɪdz (3, Notidz) < nɯɯɪʈ "a sight," has in mind the pair describing funerals and festivals: koɪleoɪʈ, koṇenɯɯɪʈ "dancing (oɪʈ) with the legs (koɪl), sights for the eyes (koṇ)." poṇiɪdz, daughter of kɯɯɪlpax (52, Kulpakh) < poṇ "colored cloth" is probably derived from the song-unit otsodjfoṇ which refers to a loincloth put on by men when they drive the buffaloes round in the pen at a two-day funeral. siniɪdz (21, Sinidz) < sin "gold." laɪbiɪdz, daughter of töɪkɯɯɪr (63, Teikudr), < laɪbm "profit" (indirectly from Sanskrit lābha). ruɪpojiɪdz (also ruɪpoj), daughter of kömnuɪs (34, Kemners), < ruɪpoj "rupee." raɪmiɪdz (38, Ramidz) < Rāma, the divine personage. roɪdʒiɪdz, daughter of poɪdz (34, Podj), < roɪdʒ "kingdom" (indirectly from Sanskrit rājya). pirkiɪdz (28,
Pirkidz) < pirkitɑn, the Toda form of the English name Breeks, after the [177]
Collector in the Nilgiris who did ethnological work on the Todas. sonmiɪdz
(63, Sanmidz) < sonm "the people" (indirectly from Sanskrit jana); this

ţeɯj (10, Punduteimi), with tūɯţ "handle of a bamboo vessel" (frequently found in songs), has also the suffix -emj mentioned in §25, piłj "silver" is found in piłjmoʃt (54, Pilimasht), with moʃt "ax;"[10] piłjniɪr (55, Pilinir), with niɪr "water;" piłjmut (35, Pilimut), with mut "pearl." 551 193

§27. As first member of a compound is found nas- 'beauty;" nasturfj (49, Narstufi), with tuɪfj "feather;" naspiłj (35, 52, Naspilthi), with piłj "silver." It is found in the form nal- with insertion of -a- in nalabuɪf, daughter of panɯs (23, Paners), with puɪf "flower." puɪf "flower" is found as first member of a compound in puɪfiłj (20, Puveli), with piłj "silver;" with inserted -a- in puɪfamut, daughter of sirjaɪr (20), with mut "pearl;" with suffix -iɪdz and piłj "silver" in puɪfiɪdzfiłj (65, Puvizveli).

§28. Other compounds are found with more sporadic members. koɪsmaɪlj, daughter of oɪtjarz and udjoɪsn (34, Atiurz and Udiosan), from koɪs "rupee" and maɪlj "garland;" koɪsafiłj (11, Kosaveli), from koɪs "rupee" and piłj "silver" with inserted -a-; cf. koɪsar §25. niɪrfiłj (63, Nirveli) from niɪr "water" and piłj "silver." arzniɪr (16, Arsner), from arz "European" and niɪr "water." mutniɪrfiłj (51, Mutnirveli), from mut "pearl," niɪr "water" and piłj "silver," is rather exceptional in having three members. pumes (23, Pumers), from pum "fruit" and es "leaf;" cf. sines §26. Several contain English words: soɪpniɪr (6, Sapnir), from soɪp "shop" and niɪr "water;" pofuɪrmut, daughter of oɪtjarz and udjoɪsn (34), from pofuɪr "power," referring to the electric power line across the hills, and mut "pearl." Three refer to Miss C. F. Ling who was formerly a missionary among the Todas.[11] ligmisj (23, Lingimishi) represents Ling Missy (i.e. Miss Ling), which is the ordinary way in which a South Indian would refer to this lady; ligjabuɪf, daughter of ūɯşoɪr (48, Ushadr), has puɪf "flower" with an inserted -a- and an unwarranted j; misjamut, daughter of kömnɯs (34, Kemners), is misj "missy" and mut "pearl" with an inserted -a-. 551 177 193

§29. Uncompounded words without any suffix are found as names: tuguɪl, daughter of kūɯɪsjałł (52, Kuriolv), "moon;" sæɪfer (62, Sever) "1000;" ysmitʃ (12, Iraimitch) "lime (the fruit)," cf. the appendix to note 7; mumet (56, Munat), "affection." poţoɳm (34, Paton) is the word found in Sanskrit as paţţana "city" and is the usual Toda word for Madras city. kopol (41, Kapal) seems to denote the compound of a bungalow and refers especially in the songs with its pair kotsæɪrj to the law-courts in Ootacamund. A few English words have been taken as names changed only to such 551 193

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[10] Moʃt "ax" and moɪj "bell" (cf. sinemoɪj §26) form a song-pair, denoting two of the objects found in dairies.

[11] See *The Songs of the Todas*, footnote 2 and p. 554.

551 193 an extent that their phonetics follow the Toda pattern: pæıbj, daughter of öıknuıs (8, Arkners), < "baby;" pentʃ, daughter of koṛxüuıṭṇ (42, Kadrkutan), < "bench (i.e. of magistrates in the courts)." The English "station," i.e. police-station, becomes in Toda tæısn; a woman's name tæıs is derived by dropping -n, which if it were kept would give the word the appearance of a man's name (daughter of kajniır, 3, Kainir).

[177] §30. The Sanskrit dēvī "goddess" borrowed indirectly gives tiıfj (8, Tivi). Several goddess names (Hindu) with this as final element are found, among them amandiıfj, daughter of küuılpax (52, Kulpakh), the first element being Amma, a South Indian word for "goddess;" the whole word probably refers to Mariamma.

## CONCLUSIONS

551 614 778 §31. Analysis of a large collection of proper names has thus yielded a number of general tendencies. Men's names are in the majority of cases sib-names, based on names and küasm "sacred names" of all things connected with the patrilineal sib and especially with the gods or munds of the sib. In this the Todas join in principle with many other sib-organized communities, in which the individuals of each sib bear a name belonging to the sib, but they differ from other such communities in that while in most each individual uses the name of the sib and a personal name not closely connected with the sib, the Todas use only personal names, which are de- 551 776 177 rived from the sib. Of the small residue of names not definitely connected with the sibs, a few are derived from religious entities not closely associated with any sib (e.g. öıngüuıṭṇ §18), and perhaps a larger number are derived from the names of gods of the Hindu pantheon, usually in consequence of a vow made by the man's parents (§17). A very few are derived from more miscellaneous sources (§§19, 20).

551 193 [614] §32. Women's names on the contrary have nothing to do with the sib with the exception of the one discussed in §24 and possibly others that I have not discovered.[12] Some women's names are simple common nouns, often of non-Toda origin, many more are common nouns with a suffix, and the great majority are compounds of common nouns. Those names bor- [177] rowed from English probably in many cases have a bizarre or perhaps even comic connotation, judging from the facial expressions of my informants when I recorded such names.

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[562] [533] [778] [12] It may be noted that though women have no part in the religion of the dairy-complex and are a source of pollution to the complex in many circumstances, they are not debarred from using the küasm "sacred names" in composing songs. Here they are entirely on an equality with the men. It has been found too that the women have as good a knowledge of the details of the formation of men's names as the men; cf. §23.

797 have had as its immediate incentive an incident in which a Toda man who was ill was given medicine by a Tamilian Christian and told to pray at the Tamil Church in Ootacamund. He seems to have interpreted this as a vow to a god, such vows being freely undertaken by the Todas,[2] and on recovery he went to the church to do whatever rites were customary. The missionaries regarded this as a direct call to undertake mission work with the tribe and Miss Ling was appointed to be in charge. In 1904 the first convert was baptized, [kišker] (59, Kishkar),[3] his own name being used as a baptismal name along with Paramajyoti, a Sanskritic name of the Tamil and Tamil Christian type. This man was appointed a catechist to preach to the Todas and still acts as such. In 1907 the next converts, five young women, were baptized. Preaching and teaching were carried on from the beginning in the face of recurrent opposition from the tribe, although much of the teaching was only indirectly religious. When converts were made, economic difficulties arose since these persons were cut off from the tribal life, both by the tribe and also, though reluctantly, by the missionaries, whose aspiration had been to convert the tribe as a whole and retain the old economic structure while doing away with the religious and the more un-Christian social features of the tribal culture (such, *e.g.*, as polyandry, the low
797 status of women, etc.) and adding agriculture to the pastoral regime.
794 The difficulty was met by getting permission to use some of the abandoned Toda village and dairy sites and pasturages; on two of these the
[177] converts were settled and agriculture was joined to the care of cattle in
[241] providing a living for them. At both places a church was built, the
[346] more important having a turret and bell provided by the converts themselves, which Miss Ling, probably correctly, regards as an equiva-
[182] lent in the life of the Toda Christians to the sacred bells of the tribal dairies. Houses for the people, schools, and medical dispensaries complete the material side of the mission colonies. The number of converts has varied. Many Todas at various periods have undergone religious instruction preliminary to baptism without being able to take the final
[162] step. At present the number of persons living at the two colonies is

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[2] See my paper *Toda Culture Thirty-five Years after* (Annals Bhandarkar Oriental Research
[113] Institute 19. 101–121), 117.

[3] When a Toda is mentioned, he is placed with reference to the genealogical tables in W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas* (London, Macmillan and Co., 1906), by the number of the table in which his name occurs and the spelling there given. The writing of Toda words in this paper is strictly phonemic. The phonetic characters used are in general those of the IPA. Small
[104] capitals represent retroflex consonants, except that [ṣ] is used for the sibilant. Italics represent alveolars, [*r*] being an alveolar trill. [*r*] is a post-dental one-flap tremulant. [š] represents the abnormal sibilant (almost like English *sh*). [c] and [ȷ] are affricates of *ts* and *dz* type respectively. [ö] is a mid, mixed, rounded vowel, [ɯ] high, back, unrounded. When two vowel characters are juxtaposed, they together represent a diphthongal phoneme; [aɯiː] in one name is the diphthong [aɯ] plus the vowel [iː].

The adult members of the

794 community are still in many respects Todas. The new generation
184 however is growing up without intimate knowledge of things Toda and
563 in most cases without knowledge of the Toda language, since there is an
177 admixture of Tamilians in the community and all formal instruction is
[867] carried on in the Tamil language. New converts may and probably will be made who will introduce fresh Toda influences. But it is to be expected that the community will in time become so Tamilized that those born into it will hardly differ at all from other Tamil Christians and fresh converts will find few Toda traditions there to strengthen.

794 It still remains to discuss the attitude of the tribe towards the
184 Christian community. Theoretically since the Christians have "broken
564 caste," have given up the tribal religious and social rites and have
[illegible] adopted some habits which are repugnant to the tribe, *e.g.*, meat-eating,[15]
there should be an absolute break in the relations between the two communities. The chief marks of outcasting in most Hindu communities are refusal of the caste to intermarry with the outcastes and also to interdine. The latter is based on the conception of pollution; a person who is not of the caste and who does not observe the customs of the caste, especially in such intimate matters as preparation and consumption of food, will produce equal uncleanness in the caste-members, necessitating
564 elaborate purifications. The Todas are not in a strict sense a caste,
648 though conceptions of purity and pollution are prominent in their cul-
186 ture. They will not, for example, go into a Kota village since the Kotas are unclean by occupation (blacksmithing and pottery) and by eating habits (meat and even carrion are regularly eaten); all transactions with Kotas at a Kota village must be carried on at the green outside the Kota village. Nor is a Kota allowed to enter a Toda village. Interdining between Todas and Kotas is non-existent. The Badagas however do not suffer from the restrictions that the Kotas do. Badagas may enter Toda villages and those in certain formalized relations with
[574] the Todas are invited to Toda ceremonies and eat with them at the feasts that follow. The European is on about the same footing as the Badaga, though he eats meat. I have been invited on several occasions to take part in the feast following a Toda ceremony and my sitting in the row of Toda feasters did not inconvenience them as that of a Kota would. The Toda Christian also is invited to eat at such feasts and
[184] does eat. He is not however allowed into a Toda dairy, any more than
[794] any other profane person is, nor is he allowed into a Toda house, in this respect being like the European. The European may enter the

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[113] [15] *See Toda Culture Thirty-five Years after*, p. 119, for the somewhat equivocal attitude of the tribe to this habit.

The European may enter the
house if he takes off his shoes and if the cooking utensils have been 184
removed from the house; this seems to be a mark of courtesy to the 564
ruling caste and no Toda will trouble himself to remove the cooking 794
utensils to oblige a Toda Christian. This, I think, is the essence of [576]
the tribal attitude. The Toda Christian is an outsider, with the
complication that he was once a member of the tribe and still has all the 794
links of blood-relationship and affinal relationship with the tribe. 184
There is resentment because he has left the tribe, and on occasion the
diviners *ex officio* and even other members of the tribe may charge the [578]
misfortunes of the tribe to the fact that there have been converts to
Christianity and may commence open hostilities (wordy quarrelling and
sometimes blows) if a Christian Toda happens to be present, especially
if he has brought a European to see ceremonies. At the same time the
pull of the original relationship survives in a measure and is clearly
evident when a respected member of the tribe sits in the Toda Christian
meeting and gives the benefit of his advice and when those members of
the tribe related to the principals at Christian weddings and christenings
attend these ceremonies.

The overt actions of the tribal Todas can be illustrated in more 574
detail. The other side of the interdining relation works as follows. 184
The tribal Toda when he comes to a Christian Toda house or ceremony 794
will eat only if the food has been cooked by a man, either tribal in origin [252]
or born in the Christian community; this is a little obscure since food is [562]
ordinarily cooked in a tribal Toda house by the women and the question
of menstruation pollution does not enter to complicate the picture.[16]
It may be due to the presence of women of Tamil origin in the
community or perhaps to the fact that women converts are not readmitted to
the tribe even if they wish to leave the Christian community.
Furthermore, the cooking must be done in a metal vessel and not in an earthen [252]
one; according to general Hindu views pollution can be removed from [177]
the former but not from the latter.

Readmission to the tribe of a Toda Christian male who was born in 797
the tribe is always possible and has happened often enough. For 794
example, [kaɴfuɯodj] went back to the tribe on one occasion in order to 184
marry a woman with whom he was in love. He was unable through
illness to stand the physical life of the tribe, however, and became a
Christian again. It appears that the chief ceremony in readmission to [796]
the tribe was provision for him of a new perineal cloth [kuuːɴ], the [291]
fundamental garment of the Toda man.[17] A Toda woman, once she [562]

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[16] See my paper *Toda Menstruation Practices*, which will appear in the Dr. F. W. Thomas Festschrift Volume to be published by the *New Indian Antiquary*. [113]

[17] Cf. the regulation that a man who has lost his perineal cloth is barred from going to a dairy until after sunset of that day.

114 the care of which forms a very complex ritual, and containing within itself such an unusual feature as polyandry, this culture was bound to attract attention as a thing *sui generis* in the field of knowledge of anthropologists. Work on the language of the tribe in 1935–7 has given me an opportunity to study the culture as well. The present paper attempts to assess the amount and nature [121] of such changes as the culture has suffered in the thirty-five years since Rivers' visit.

177 In 1901–2, the Todas were already exposed to outside influences of several different kinds. Leaving aside their immemorial connexion with the Kotas and the Kurumbas, these three tribes regarding themselves as being the aboriginal inhabitants of the hills and as having been created there together, and their more recent but still ancient connexion with the immigrant Badagas, two other strong influences had been in a position to affect Toda culture from the time that the Nilgiris became accessible early in the 19th century. The English, who created three hill-stations, Ootacamund, Coonoor, and Kotagiri, and a military station Wellington, provided one of these influences, and their Indian servants, minor officials, and tradespeople, an even stronger influence. Since Rivers' time conditions in the hills have changed so that outside influences have become potentially much stronger. A railway now connects Ootacamund and Coonoor with the Tamilian plains to the south and motorbuses connect the whole area with the Mysore plains. The possibilities of the Nilgiris as a suitable ground for growing vegetable produce and tea have been exploited to a high degree. Their attractions as holiday grounds for Europeans and a place of retirement at the end of official life have been certainly not more widely appreciated, but perhaps more widely used by Europeans from all parts of India. The climax of this tendency of the English to invade the Nilgiris

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113 *id., Personal names of the Todas*, American Anthropologist, April 1938.

*id., An Echo-word Motif in Dravidian Folk-tales*, Journal of the American Oriental Society (not yet published).

*Census of India, 1931*, vol. 14 (Madras), part 1 (report by M. W. M. Yeatts), 367–393.

[M. B. Emeneau, *Toda Marriage Regulations and Taboos*, American Anthropologist 39, 103-112. This completes the list of my papers on the Todas up to date, but is not referred to in this paper.]

for short or longer periods has however been passed and with 177
changed political conditions it is evident that the European population will suffer a decline. Well-to-do Indians have also felt the attractions, climatic or other, of the Nilgiri hill-stations; whether the climax of their migration has been reached it is difficult to say. The specific differences between the influences of Rivers' time and those of today are to be seen, not so much in the influence exerted on the hill cultures by the Europeans, as in the ever-increasing numbers of Indians from the plains, mostly low-caste Tamil and Kannada speakers who are agricultural laborers, but also Mohammedans from various areas, including Pashto-speaking money-lenders from the far north, as well as traders, especially Marwaris from the Bombay Presidency and Chettis from the Tamil area.

It will throw some light on the nature of Toda culture if an 177
attempt is made to assess the effects of these various influences on 128
the life of the Todas, insofar as there has been an effect. A general examination of changes that have taken place in Toda culture since Rivers' time will also be of value, both in itself and as providing evidence by which some of Rivers' hypotheses may be evaluated. The treatment may be divided into three major sections—economic life, social organization, and religion. At some points a comparison may usefully be made between the state of Toda culture at the present time and the state of the Kota and the Badaga cultures in the corresponding departments.

The economic life of the Todas is that department which has 177
felt the impact of outside influences most strongly. The basis on 233
which the economic life is founded is the herds of buffaloes. A 262
great part of the diet of the tribe is made up of milk, buttermilk, and ghee. In this respect incidentally they offer a marked contrast to most of the south Indian communities, among whom cattle-products are too frequently neglected as a source of nourishing food. Besides this, the Todas require grain-food and 262
of these rice and millet are the chief. In the days before the hills 648
were opened up, grain was acquired from the Badagas chiefly, 437
and the method, still followed, was for a Toda to go to the Badaga village with which his sib was connected and levy contributions, so much from each house. Rice seems to have been obtained

is remarkable when we consider that the interchange between 648
Badagas and Kotas has broken down almost entirely. This 437
latter break-down however is primarily due to religious changes
in the Badaga community. One of the main services supplied
by Kotas to Badagas was music at funerals. The majority of
the Badagas have reformed their customs in this respect and no
longer requiring music and having a convenient source of tools
and pots at hand in the bazaars, this section of the Badagas has
repudiated with some heat all connexions with the Kota community,
especially as the Kotas by expanding their agricultural
activities and aspiring to a higher status in the hierarchy of the
tribes of the hills have come into quarrelsome conflict with the
Badagas. That the Todas have not broken off relations with 648
the Kotas is probably due primarily to their adherence to the old 437
system of acquiring tools and pots and to their desire for the 178
Kota music at funerals. Even this latter item may arise
in the future as a source of conflict, since the anti-music tendency
of the Badagas has begun to infect the Kotas, or at least one
of their most articulate reformers. He is however at present an
object of great suspicion to the conservative members of the
Kota community and it is improbable that the Todas will be
deprived of their funeral music until a fairly remote future. The 648
two tribes do not come into economic conflict, as do the Badagas 186
and the Kotas, nor do Kota caste-aspirations bring them into conflict with the Todas, who as the highest ranking aboriginal community of the hills are immeasurably above the Kotas in their own estimation and look upon the Kota aspirations, if they pay any attention to them at all, with a lordly disdain. My Kota informant, the above-mentioned reformer, has also observed to me rather pathetically that the Todas are a friendly people while the Kotas are quarrelsome, and it is probable that this lordly condescension of the Todas keeps the Kotas on friendly terms with them, while the pushing, *nouveau riche* attitude easily observed in the Badagas antagonises a caste like the Kotas who having a relatively low position yet do not feel themselves much inferior to the Badagas and certainly will not openly admit any inferiority.

The land basis of Toda economic life is pasturage for the 177
herds. This has been affected adversely by the influx of immi- 233
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177 grants, both Indian and European, in the last century, and by
233 the expansion of Badaga agricultural activity. Curtailment of
423 the pasturage areas must have been appreciable even in the days
when only the Badagas were agriculturalists in the hills. It is
difficult to make out how serious a matter this had become by
the beginning of the 19th century. Since then the matter has
177 become serious indeed. First settlement by the English at Oot-
acamund, Coonoor, and Wellington necessitated purchase of land
233 from the Todas. The sib of the muṇkitjo:ḷ (Rivers' Pām; for
425 details see p. 658) thus lost its chief village and of course the
[614] pasture-lands there. So also the two sibs of the ka:ṣo:ḷ and melga:-
ṣo:ḷ lost a number of villages and the surrounding pastures where
Ootacamund now stands, and the two villages from which these
sibs take their names are now actually within the area of the
municipality with restricted pastures. In other directions pastu-
rages have been alienated, either to the Badagas when they were
[311] vigorously extending their fields for the production of vegetables
for the markets or to Europeans who bought land for tea-planta-
tions or for other purposes, the most recent of which has been
the construction of a dam on the Pykara river and an electric
power line over the hills. Most frequently these sales involved
land in the lower margins of the plateau, and the high downs to
the west of Ootacamund where villages cluster most thickly have
not been seriously affected. Alienation can take place only with
the consent of Government and this is charily given if it vitally
affects the Todas' best interests. It is of some importance also
that the hunting of jackals with horses and hounds has been a
favorite sport of the English in the Nilgiris and has influenced
them in preserving the downs as open country. Two separate
major alienations have taken place within the last fifty years. In
one case the lands belonging to two associated dairies of the
highest grade (the ti:-dairies), one of the ka:ṣo:ḷ sib, the other of
[797] the mōṭo:ḷ sib, which had not been used for a number of years,
were disposed of to the Church of England Zenana Mission for
cultivation by the Toda Christian Colony. In the other case two
pasturages of the ti: of the ka:ṣo:ḷ sib were sold to Government
[614] and are now incorporated in a forest reserve; these were sold
[682] when the sib of the ka:ṣo:ḷ were in need of a large sum of money
to settle perkumẹ's liability in the suicide of nōrnmẹ. In general,

In general, 177
the impression is gained that if Government did not keep a close 233
watch on Toda land, either from a concern for Toda welfare or 425
from a desire to preserve the amenities of the Nilgiris, and pre- 657
vent the free play of economic pressure, the pastures would soon
all be alienated, or at any rate to such an extent that the economic
life of the Todas would be severely prejudiced. Toda economic 177
life is to this important extent artificially hedged off from the 657
interference of outside influences and preserved from total disrup-
tion. Sir Athelstane Baines' remark that the Todas are "stall-
fed aborigines" is in this respect entirely justified.[1]

The Toda Amelioration Scheme was mentioned above in con- 177
nexion with the payment of Toda debts. The other chief feature 657
of the plan was to induce the Todas to grow potatoes and to work 241
this agricultural enterprise and the sale of their ghee through
two cooperative societies. The advantages of the Scheme
appealed to a number of the chief men, and some of the super-
ficial benefits made a remarkable appeal to less responsible Todas
as a method of getting something for nothing. The scheme broke
down on its really vulnerable point. The Todas are pastoralists
with no tradition of agriculture and the continuous back-breaking
labor it demands, and the attempt to make agriculturalists of
them while their own pastoral occupation was still in full work-
ing order could not with any confidence have been expected to
succeed.[2] Those few who personally engaged themselves in the
work found that it went so against their habits that two years of
it were more than enough. The majority merely hired outsiders
to do the manual labor for them, or sold the seed-potatoes and
tools that were advanced to them by the societies. No trace of
the Scheme now remains.

Casual employment as beaters for English sportsmen brings 648
in a small, irregular income to a few Todas. The Maharaja of 434
Mysore each year engages fifteen men of the tribe to act as an
ornamental bodyguard at his palace in Ootacamund. Some few

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[1] Sir Athelstane Baines *Ethnography (Castes and Tribes.)* [Grundriss der Indo-arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde II. 5], 123. [113]

[2] See also the Census officer in 1931 (reference in note 1) for the same judgment on the scheme.

887 764 554 old ones this opportunity and sometimes catch the old men's
526 assigned animals before the latter can reach them. Old men
[578] retaliate sometimes by stepping in when the young men are
unable to control a buffalo that has been caught. In the latter
case the old man is inclined to boast inordinately of his prowess.
[533] Great speed in running and skill in catching buffaloes is
celebrated in the songs. Adventitious rewards are occasionally
764 given to the winner in the race for the buffaloes. E. g. about
554 twenty years ago at the funeral of kanmę (Rivers' genealogical
526 table 63), kuwę:jaḷf, the headman of the tribe, offered a fine cloak
to the winner in the race. It was won by ke:nodz (21), who still
dwells on this proof of his former prowess. If this interest needs
any buttressing, it has recently been provided by the Ootacamund
648 Hunt, which initiated in 1936 at the point-to-point race meet a
526 cross-country running race for Todas. In that year and in 1937
the race was of about a mile and a quarter over rolling downs.
It was won both years in remarkably fast time by a young man,
[789] who was said at the time to have gone to the Kurumbas beforehand for charms to help him to win. This innovation, which
will no doubt last as long as the Ootacamund Hunt, merely adds
another small item to a highly-developed interest and fits well
into the Toda pattern.

291 Toda men's costume has been affected to a slight extent by the
177 influence of the immigrant plainspeople. I have already
described the proper Toda clothes in my paper *Toda Garments and
Embroidery*. In addition to these most men nowadays wear a
shirt under the cloak in the manner made familiar to them by the
Indians in the bazaar. A turban of bright-colored cloth or silk
[292] is also affected, by headmen usually and by all others who can
afford it for festal occasions. That this is a borrowing is easily
seen from the clumsy efforts that the men make in tying the
turban and from the lack of any uniform style in the result.
Some young men also wear a bright-colored neckerchief knotted
in front as a fairly regular part of their costume; this is a very
[178] recent innovation and seems to be an independent invention.
[784] None of these new garments may be worn when the men go
[234] inside the walls surrounding the dairies. The waistcloth, though
it seems to be an innovation of about a century ago, is worn near

the dairy; this contrasts with the rule of the Kotas that the 291
waistcloth must be discarded on going within the Kota 177
temple areas.

Other sociological phenomena need not be touched upon in 114
detail; accounts that I have been given of various of them agree entirely with River's accounts.

Since Rivers' time one sib of the toːrθaṣ moiety has come near 114
extinction, viz. the niṛjoːḷ found in Rivers' genealogical tables 614
40-43. The family in table 41 has been extinguished entirely by the death of its last male members. The only male member still surviving of the family in table 42 is a Christian, and this family is regarded as extinguished. In 40 and 43 each family is represented now by a male infant and a Christian male. It is unlikely that the three Christians originally of this sib will return to the tribe since they were very young when they became members of the Christian community. The sib must be carried on by the two infants and if they should survive and have sons, the organization of the sib into the divisions called kuːṛ (pp. 542-4) will remain as it is now; otherwise, a new division will be necessary, as will in any case a new poːlm division (pp. 544-6), or the sib may be wholly extinguished.

In the matter of religious institutions, I can again find no 771
change, though my more intimate, linguistic approach enables 114
me to place the emphasis in some cases at different points from those which Rivers stressed and to present an amplified and better balanced picture of the religious system as a whole than that of Rivers. I shall not here go into much detail, merely presenting a sketchy outline of the religious picture as my material yields it and touching on some points where Rivers thought that he could observe tendencies to change.

The religion of the Todas is a highly ritualized buffalo-cult. 771
Every important operation connected with the buffaloes is 233
conducted according to rule, the milking and converting the 234
milk successively into butter and ghee, giving salt to the 994
buffaloes, taking them on migration to fresh pastures, burning over the pastures, giving a buffalo a name when it has calved for

776 is a god." Likewise mod "mund" and no:ṛ "sacred place"
234 may be used as equivalent terms in songs. We must conclude
778 that the "sacred place" and the "god" are the same thing, the
[192] localized dairy-complex. Examples of song-phraseology are as follows:[1]

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| | |
|---|---|
| no:ṛo:selm | ku:tjuθno:ṛ |
| sacred places-all | to which she gathered-sacred place |
| töuo:selm | " |
| gods-[illegible] | " |

i. e. "(no:ṛ), the sacred place to which the goddess tö:kiṣj gathered all the sacred places, all the gods."

| | |
|---|---|
| moxeθaṛm | kuuṭtuθno:ṛ |
| children-charity | which gave-sacred place |
| uṛeθaṛm | " |
| buffaloes-charity | " |

i. e. "the place (or, god) which gave children and buffaloes in abundance."

| | |
|---|---|
| no:ṛexu:ḍtk | pi:uθno:ṛ |
| sacred places-meeting-to | which went-sacred place |
| töueno:ḍtk | " |
| gods-meeting-to | " |

i. e. "the sacred place (or, god) which went to the assembly
794 of the sacred places, of the gods." The assembly to which the
776 gods go is held in the dairy of the mund my:nj to settle disputes
778 and matters of interest to the gods. Here all the gods, the
234 töuθuṭ, the töuno:ṛ, and the gods of the Hindu pantheon,
[177] assemble and they are said to be 1600 or 1800 in number.[2] From this the töuno:ṛ are clearly seen to be anthropomorphic, as is
[777] also evident since it is said that a töuno:ṛ may become angry and
[783] visit misfortune on anyone guilty of polluting that particular dairy-complex.

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[1] See *The Songs of the Todas*, reference given in note 1.

[2] The two numbers make the song-pair; [illegible], [illegible] "1600
[533] gods, 1800 gods." That the conception is of fairly ancient standing with the
[174] Todas seems clear from the Toda interpretation of the first "holy name (kwasm)" of the mund my:nj, which is pa:rama, said to mean "the standing-place ([illegible]) of the 1600 gods (represented by pa:r for pa:ra[illegible])." For further discussion of this sacred name, see *Personal names of the Todas* §11.

771 Rivers says (p. 452): "The present state of the Toda religion
776 seems to be one in which ritual has persisted while the beliefs at
794 the bottom of the ritual have largely disappeared." By "beliefs"
he referred to the stories of those gods, such as tö:kiṣj and the
234 rest, whom we have shown above to be the töuθɯṭ. Since
they are distinct from the töuno:ṛ, it is clear that the ritual
of the dairy-complex has no connexion with the beliefs
about the töuθɯṭ. It is true that the dairy-complexes are of
much greater interest to the Toda than the other gods, but these
latter have quite as much power to cause misfortune as the former,
opportunities only arising less frequently. We may probably
771 see in the highly developed ritual of the dairies a product
174 of long accretion, starting originally no doubt from the fairly
794 general Indian belief in the sanctity of cattle. The steps by
234 which this grew into the present cult cannot be discovered. But
if this is the origin of the Toda ritualized dairy-practice, we need
not expect anything more in the way of beliefs than we actually
find, viz. anecdotes to explain anomalies of various dairy-complexes.
Long origin stories are lacking, everything being referred
either to these anecdotes for a few abnormal details or to
creation in general terms by tö:kiṣj and the other töuθɯṭ for the
general scheme of things. It is possible that tö:kiṣj and the gods
[776] associated with her represent an older layer of belief than the
dairy-complex gods, but no evidence is forthcoming other than
the chronology given in the Toda myths. About the former gods,
776 the töuθɯṭ, stories are still told in the vague way of which
538 Rivers complained (p. 452 middle). But this vagueness is really
merely a sketchiness of detail that I have found in all Toda storytelling,
arising from a lack of interest in the story-telling
technique, not from a lack of interest in the stories (see my paper
*An Echo-word Motif in Dravidian Folk-tales*). There is no reason
to suppose that the stories of the old gods will ever be forgotten
while the tribe survives.

771 Into the close-knit nexus of the Toda dairy-complex no
234 change is likely to come except in matters of detail, and no such
794 change since Rivers' time is known to me. Short of complete
777 abandonment of the system it is hard to conceive of any radical
778 alteration. But, as was already noted by Rivers (pp. 457-8
worship of Hindu deities can go on "side by side with
the proper religion of the Todas."

worship of Hindu deities can go on "side by side with the proper religion of the Todas." Vows are made to temples for increase of 782 the buffaloes, for speedy completion of the rebuilding of a dairy, for children or for other objects. If the boon asked for is obtained, the promised vow is fulfilled; otherwise, not. In most cases a man when paying the vow goes to the temple to which it has been made, shaves his hair and beard, bathes, and hands over to the temple the gift he has promised, a small silver image of a buffalo or a dairy or a sum of money. Fashions change in 782 temples, according as reputation for power rises or falls. Certain 484 temples very near the hills have been visited in paying vows 788 for a very long time. Visits to Nanjangud in Mysore State 178 began according to my informants less than a century ago. Vows to Mariamma's temple in Ootacamund have been made only in very recent times. Most curious is the making of vows to the mosque at Nagore, on the coast east of Tanjore. This holy-place was learned of from Mohammedan ghee-merchants in Ootacamund. The first vow by a Toda to this place was made by nö:rnmɨ (Rivers' genealogical table 20) and paid after his death by his classificatory son siṛja:r; this was before Rivers' time. One of my informants went there in 1929 by train and gave a silver buffalo in payment of his vow. Such offerings of images are apparently accepted and no doubt sold at a yearly auction of offerings, as in Hindu temples. Toda vows to a Mohammedan shrine are an excellent illustration of the syncretistic tendencies [182] of unlettered peoples in India. The Todas, who know well enough that the place of worship in Nagore is a Mohammedan mosque, do not regard it as any different from a Hindu temple that has shown itself to be powerful in granting boons. They call the deity there a tö:u and it seems that it is really a Mohammedan saint buried at the mosque who is supposed to be the god of the place.

Apart from the outside influence just discussed, the only 776 other influence that I have been able to find shows itself in a 776 theological belief alreay mentioned by Rivers (p. 456). This is 177 to the effect that the supreme god is so:mi (indirectly borrowed from Sanskrit svāmin), and all the other gods are his servants. So it was phrased by kimmɨ (Rivers' genealogical table 26; one

771 of the oldest men in the tribe and now dead; see *Toda Garments*
776 *and Embroidery*, note 3) when theology was once being discussed
● 177 in my presence. This belief has no influence on the formulas of
Toda ritual, and is clearly quite extraneous to the proper cult. It
is undoubtedly a borrowing from other Hindu communities, as
is the frequent use of the vocative so·mi· as an expletive of
[797] surprise and wonder. Christian missionary teaching seems to
have had no influence at all on Toda belief and practices.

177 It is of some interest to enquire why the Todas have not set
778 up in their villages shrines of Hindu deities. It might seem that
the nature of the munds, explained above, consisting of a sacred
part which is itself a god and a profane part where carriers of
pollution, especially women, live, would preclude the admission
of a Hindu deity. Such an argument however is quite irrelevant,
and would undoubtedly have no weight if the occasion ever
arose when the need of setting up a shrine was felt. In general,
such shrines or temples are not set up in South India at random.
A Hindu god in the mind of rustic and unlettered communities
171 is definitely associated with the spot where his temple is, and
177 will move to another spot only if he so wills it and makes known
778 his will through a diviner or other person who is possessed of
this god. This was the case when the Kotas of one of the
villages some years ago at a time of epidemic brought to their
village a new trinity of gods, who are said to have come from
Karaimadai in the plains. These new gods spoke through a man
who is now one of the official diviners of this trinity. He had
not before been a diviner. It can hardly be doubted that discussion
had previously taken place about the efficacy of the old
polyandrous trinity of the village and that the general tension
of feeling consequent on the epidemic helped to bring about the
possession of the man by the new gods. Incidentally, the presence
in this village of two trinities with attributes and ceremonies
of the same order has caused an immense amount of friction
177 within the community. The Todas also have their diviners and
778 it is quite conceivable that they should at some time produce
791 utterances with the same purport as those of the above-mentioned
Kota. This has not happened so far, and it may be that the
present pattern of their utterances makes it improbable that they

will order the setting up in the munds of Hindu shrines. They 177
now at times of misfortune order propitiation of the tribal gods 778
or the making of vows to temples already established and well 791
known to the Todas. The two outlets are probably sufficient for
all Toda needs, though the Kotas, who had much the same two
outlets, worship at their own temples and occasional making of
vows to Hindu temples, seems to have found them insufficient in
a time of stress.

A puzzling point in Toda religion is the calf-sacrifice ( Rivers 782
pp. 274-290 ). Rivers had difficulty in learning anything about 114
it, and I have encountered equal difficulty. I finally succeeded [124]
in having a sham performance put on for me in great secrecy.
The chief of the two performers said that he had never been
present at a sacrifice of this kind, while the other had assisted
at the sacrifice at one of the most sacred dairies, the ti :-dairies;
the former man also asserted that the calf-sacrifice is extremely
rare except at ti :-dairies. Other informants however have stated
that it takes place frequently at the munds as well as at the ti :-
dairies. My chief informant was probably concealing the truth.
One reason why this was so was accidentally dropped by him,
that the Todas are ashamed to have it known that they eat meat [262]
at this sacrifice. This type of purity as a mark of high caste, if it [564]
was not known to the Todas from the beginning of their occupa- [177]
tion of the Nilgiris, has perhaps been preached to them by Hindu
missionaries or may perhaps have become known to them quite
casually from contact with plains Hindus. It seems unlikely
however that this is all that is behind the secrecy surrounding
the subject, but more information is not to be had. The same
secrecy has undoubtedly falsified my records of the songs in
several places. The sacrifice should be mentioned in several
different contexts, as I discovered late in my field-work. Substitutions of innocuous phrases were made until one of my informants through familiarity became careless and used the proper
phrase. I was able in later dictations to prompt the informants,
to their slight surprise and discomfort, and to record both the
reference to the sacrifice and the attempted substitution.

It will be seen from the preceding discussion that changes in 177
Toda culture due to outside influences have been extremely
slight. In religion no changes since Rivers' time are known; [771]

177 [771] the chief changes, payment of vows to Hindu temples and a belief in a supreme god, were already firmly established thirty-five years ago, and even these have had little effect on the firm core of Toda religious life, important as the payment of vows is in Toda eyes, since they have been merely additions and have set up no conflicts within the old pattern. In social matters such changes as can be seen are mere surface additions, again causing no conflict within the pattern. [178] [582] The innovation in marriage customs attempted by kuum:ṣjaḷf and recorded by Rivers, which would have produced stress, has been eliminated by the conservatism of the tribe. Most change is seen in economic life, and [425] [426] that in the way of gradual impoverishment through alienation of land and contracting debts in the bazaars, which had set in long before Rivers made his description. Change in the pattern has not yet resulted, in spite of the abortive attempt that was made [659] by the Toda Amelioration Scheme to add agriculture to the life of pastoralists. If a prediction is worth anything, it may be guessed that so long as the economic system is guarded against breakup, as it is now, the tribe will remain as it is now and as it was thirty-five years ago.

161 177 There remains the important question of the effect of outside influences on the population figures of the Todas. Rivers in 1906 recorded his conclusion (p. 475): "The Census Reports and the genealogical record agree in pointing to a diminution of the Toda population about the middle of the last century which has now ceased, the probability being that the Todas are increasing slightly in number.........Any decrease....was the direct result of the changes brought about by the advent of Europeans to the Nilgiri Hills." He goes on to refer especially to the influences, injurious to fertility, of syphilis and sexual immorality, and we should surely add gonorrhea. By sexual immorality he seems [114] to mean especially intercourse between women of the tribe and men of other communities. This, though it undoubtedly occurs, is probably of minor importance as compared with the normal system within the tribe. It is probable that the great freedom of sexual intercourse permitted to women [831] by the polyandrous system combined with the [illegible] institution by which a woman has at least one "lover" belonging to the other moiety and the freedom to enjoy

161 177 [831] [114] irregular intercourse brings about frequent early miscarriage and perhaps absolute sterility. When we pass to the figures of the actual population, it is found that Rivers' guess that the Todas are increasing slightly in numbers is not borne out by the crude Census figures of 1911, 1921, and 1931.[1] The figures are: in 1901 807, in 1911 676 (which is the corrected figure given by the Census officer after deducting double enumerations), in 1921 640, in 1931 597. It was suggested by the Census officer that the great apparent decline in 1901-11 is in reality due to double enumerations in 1901. The declines in the two succeeding decades are due in large part to epidemics, influenza in 1918-9 and relapsing fever in 1923-4. A subsidiary census in 1927, which yielded the figure of 582 and seems to have been carried out carefully, provides us with two figures which show that between the end of 1927 and the beginning of 1931, with no epidemic intervening, there was a slight increase in population, worked out by the Census officer as equivalent to an increase of about 8¼ per cent for a decade. The lack of vital statistics throws us back on the crude population figures, which are highly unsatisfactory for results that will mean anything. The decade 1931-41 has so far been free from epidemics. If this happy state continues, it may [164] be anticipated that the figures in 1941 will show an increase comparable with that between 1927 and 1931. But the high mortality of the tribe during epidemics, due in part to lack of immunity, but perhaps even more to crude, insanitary living conditions, is a constant danger to the continued existence and functioning of so small a community. The introduction of contagious disease to the community by the immigrant inhabitants of the hills is easily the point where outside influences have made the greatest impact on the Todas.

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[1] See *Census of India, 1931*, reference given in note 1.

841 Finally we come to the question of the woman's personal hygiene during
menses. As is very usual, a bath is prescribed after menstruation is over, to
remove the last traces of uncleanliness. But, very unusual among primitive
communities, the Toda woman during her period wears a sanitary napkin
designed to absorb the flow of blood. Formerly it was made of moss wrapped
into a pad with a piece of cloth and attached before and behind to the usual
silver or brass chain girdle or, failing this, to a waist-string. At present rags
[178] are more common in the munds than formerly and the pad may be made
wholly of rags. The pad is changed when necessary, and all di[illegible] ones
[171] are burnt. Such pads are also used by Kota and by Badaga women, but
their use has not been reported, so far as I know, for the women of any other
Indian community.

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The contrast between the menstrual regulations of the Todas and those of other Indian communities is neatly pointed by the habits of the small Toda Christian community. The converted Toda women have not been sufficient in number to provide wives for all the Toda men converts and the deficiency has been made up by converted Tamilian women. The two sets of women continue their pre-Christian customs during menstruation. The Toda women wear the sanitary napkin and continue to cook and to live in all parts of the house. The Tamilian women, on the other hand, wear no napkins, refuse to cook and will not even enter the room where the cooking-hearth is built.

The giving of cloths in various Toda ceremonies was compared with cloth-giving ceremonies in Malabar. It will be found, however, as Rivers recognized,[30] that giving of cloths, both in marriage ceremonies and otherwise, is very general throughout India. No stress should be laid on this detail until and unless further investigations of other Indian communities warrant it. So also with the breaking of pots at funerals; it is not confined to the Todas and the Malabar coast. 174 431 171

The use of poles and boxes at funerals, of cowries, and of leaf-umbrellas, all of these being obtained from Malabar, is hardly more than the use of trade-objects, and is probably to be regarded as an example of diffusion of comparatively unessential material objects. The place of origin does not matter in the case of the cowries and the umbrellas; they have now been replaced by glass beads and European-type umbrellas respectively. It is doubtful whether the place of origin has any significance in the case of the other objects. 174 [439] [177]

The Toda munds at Gudalur are well known in tradition as recent foundations; they have now been abandoned. The origin of some sacred buffaloes in the Wynaad, i.e. the same general area between the Nilgiris and Malabar, is paralleled by the origin of other sacred buffaloes on the Coimbatore, i.e. the Tamilian, plains on the other side of the Nilgiris. [361] [778] [231]

It is evident then that the Malabar origin for the Todas and their customs favored by Rivers is untenable.[31] The Toda matrilineal sibs, which were unknown to Rivers, could have been used by him to bolster up his hypothesis, but it would have proved to be of no more value than his other evidence. It is clear that the general South Indian situation sketched above provides a sufficient basis for the Toda developments. The South Indian exogamous patrilineal sib has retained full vigor among the Todas. The exogamous tendencies of the matrilineal line which work in varying degrees in all South Indian communities have been developed among the Todas into full-fledged exogamous matrilineal sibs, probably on the model of the patrilineal sibs and facilitated by the small size of the tribe. We have here nothing more than an isolated local development, easily derivable from a general cultural feature of South India. The resemblance to the Malabar matrilineal communities is only superficial, for there the patrilineal units, if they originally existed, have been entirely superseded by the matrilineal units. 114 174 614

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[30] Rivers, p. 700.

[31] Rivers also toyed with Coorg as a source for Toda customs, basing this partly on linguistic, partly on ethnological grounds. It may be mentioned here that the polyandry alleged for the Coorgs, if it ever existed, seems to have left no trace either verbally or in relic-institutions, so far as I was able to discover in eight months of linguistic work in Coorg. The linguistic grounds given by Rivers (p. 114) for Toda knowledge of the Coorgs are incorrect. The Todas call the plains at the foot of the Nilgiris, i.e. to the south, east, and northeast, kōŋg. This is etymologically connected with Kota koŋg in the same meaning, Tamil koŋku "the Tamil country comprising the districts of Coimbatore, Salem, and a portion of Mysore," in effect the same area as that meant by the Toda and Kota words, Kannaḍa koŋgu with the same meaning as the Tamil word, Malayalam koŋŋu (no dictionary is accessible for the meaning). Rivers understood at least one instance of the Toda word as being equivalent to the English word Coorg. This is impossible. "Coorg" represents the Kannaḍa koḍagu, which cannot be connected with Toda kōŋg and its cognates. The Todas have no knowledge of the Coorg country or of its inhabitants.

776 Then come two important demi-gods: a) *Kwotèn*, a man-god whose
fabulous life is closely associated with one of the Toda clans (that of
Pan); Rivers believed him to have been an outstanding Toda person-
ality who was possibly posthumously deified. b) *Kwoto*, another man-
god; he is closely associated with the clan of Melgarsh; among the
legendary feats which he is reputed to have accomplished is that of
tying down the sun between two mountains and of taking it to drink
at a stream every day, in order to prove to the gods, who had challenged
him, that he possessed supernatural powers.

197 The language spoken by the Todas is a Dravidian dialect. According
to Emeneau, it is more akin to Canarese (Kanada) than to Tamil,
although it cannot be said to be a very close relative of the former
either. All Todas are, anyhow, bilingual, and very often even tri-
191 lingual, conversing freely in Badaga with their neighbours and in Tamil
with visitors from the plains. As they have no script of their own,
212 when they occasionally want to write something (such as commemora-
tive inscriptions on temple doors) they make use of Tamil characters.
177 I have never seen them use Roman letters, but I have been told (by
Miss C. F. Ling for instance) that although not habitual, this is some-
times also done.

234 The economy of the Todas is a pastoral one, large herds of great
horned buffaloes, which do not resemble those of the plains, being
433 kept for their milk and milk products. Many of these animals are
[778] quite ordinary (*putir*) but the great majority of them are pedigree cattle
of a sacred nature (*postir*), their ancestry being calculated through the
cows. They are believed to have been given to the tribe by the gods.
They are grouped in four principal categories, each graded hierarchi-
cally. Thus the lowest category is that of the *wursulir*, then come the
[778] *nodrovair* and the *Kugvalir*, and finally, the highest and most sacred
of all, the *tiir*.

[648] Like other pastoral people, the Todas consider it degrading to take
to agriculture, and repeated attempts by the Indian Government to
[241] induce them to till the soil have miserably failed. When given a field
to cultivate, they usually let it out to a Badaga for a nominal sum,
[427] preferring to carry on with their animal husbandry and its semi-no-
madic form of life, a tradition deeply ingrained in them and to which
they are greatly attached. Most of the milk, butter and buttermilk
[439] produced by the tribe is consumed by its members, but a certain amount
is sold in the local market, and the money thus earned made use of to
433 buy other foods and everyday commodities. On the whole, the Toda
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in point, the only one I really came across. A man in his thirtes, he 158
was reputed to be a wanderer, travelling incessantly over the Nilgiri 828
downs without any home at which to stay. He was not known to have
any attachments at all, let alone feminine ones, and the explanation
for this which I obtained from Kanvarsathi was illuminating. Pangur
was supposed to have been excessively repressed in childhood, so that [839]
he had never got over the habit of masturbation. Again, I was struck
by the very orthodox psychoanalytical nature of this interpretation
coming from a people who have no notions of the modern development
of psychology in the West. It was as if their lack of prudery in sexual
matters coupled with a primitive commonsense were sufficient to make
them understand these things much better than anyone in our societies
would.

Both the Todas and the local Indian medical practitioners whom I
interrogated on this question, said that they had never heard of or seen
any case of insanity in the tribe. And this in spite of syphilis being (or [164]
having been until lately) rampant among them, although, it seems
obvious, only in a mild form which does not bring about nervous
disorders such as with us.

Suicide, on the other hand, was far from unknown, and numerous 762
instances could be cited. Formerly, the recognized method of doing
away with oneself was, as Rivers has recorded it (see *The Todas*, p. [824]
555): hanging with a *kakhudri* (Dregea volubilis, Benth) creeper. This
because Erten, described as the servant of the man-god Kwotèn, is said [773]
to have killed himself in this way, after his master had been carried
away by the goddess Terkosh (see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 201). Nowa- [276]
days, however, opium has taken the place of this more antiquated
method, a habit which, it is considered, has been adopted from the [177]
Badagas. Sriar's father, Izcheidi (20), thus committed suicide by
taking the drug, because his wife had been carried away from him.
because Erten, described as the servant of the man-god Kwotèn, is said
have ended her life by taking opium after the death of her son.

Concerning crime, Rivers says: "It is, however, doubtful whether 674
crime can be said to exist among the Todas," (*The Todas*, pp. 553–4).
Certainly the tribe appears to be made up of remarkably meek and
peaceful individuals, they having no arms at all, a rare occurrence [411]
among any human beings on earth. Nor is there any indication that
they ever had any. From questioning I gathered that Todas often [578]
quarrel, shouting and even beating each other with the very attractive
walking-sticks which it is their speciality to manufacture. But nothing

and-arrow ceremony of the Todas, the position of the child in the 171
kin group is not in any doubt. We cannot argue that wherever we have 582
the general structure we shall also find a loose or easily alterable con- 601
nection between the spouses, but we can argue that the orderliness of 602
marriageable and nonmarriageable kin categories permits a wide definition of the connection between the spouses: it can mean simply "intercourse," or, as in southern Ceylon, it can create a unique estate and a lasting bond between the pair. The open possibility of the loose connection clearly makes both polyandry and polygyny possible among people who utilize some version of the general structure. We shall look at further examples later on.

The similarity between the kin structure of the Toda and the peo- 171
ples discussed in Ceylon is hardly surprising. There have been many 177
close contacts between Ceylon and the mainland. Not only does the [602]
culture give an impression of underlying similarity but the similarity sometimes persists when pursued to the particulars of ceremonies.
Thus the gift of a cloth at the union of a man and woman is a custom [585]
found among the Toda, the Sinhalese, and many castes on the Malabar
coast. Again, the white cloths which are placed on the corpse by the [764]
Kandyan Sinhalese are found among the Toda (and Nayar) though each community puts this cloth to different use.

The further similarity, too, in such key words as *ichchil* (pollution) 171
in Toda and *kili* in Sinhalese, or *matchuni* (Toda for cross-cousin) [192]
and *massina* (Sinhalese), and many others increases the impression that we are dealing with variations on a common theme.[4] It is the fundamental features common to both systems which have engaged our attention: it could certainly not be claimed that structural similarity goes beyond the fundamentals. But that is the point: each community in this region uses a variety of special customs to set itself off from others. The manner of wearing clothes, different types of sari and dress, bodily marks—all these are well known. But it appears that the process has been carried even into matters of structural importance, so that one community will have a certain kind of marriage simply in order to distinguish itself even more from another community.

## TANJORE ADI DRAVIDA AND BRAHMAN 000

Although many books have been written by scholars and others on the multifold aspects of Southeast India, those that deal with kinship are few, and of recent date. Our conclusions must, of necessity, be limited

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[4] The intriguing similarity between the manner of wearing their robes by the Toda priests (who handle the sacred milk) and by Buddhist monks elsewhere is obviously hardly an accident.